

AT QUEEN VICTORIA'S DEATHBED
Shocking eye-witness accounts of her last moments

**CIVIL RIGHTS
HEROES**

And how they
have inspired
generations

ALL ABOUT

HISTORY

THE RISE OF SPARTA

How the city of warriors defeated Persia,
toppled Athens and dominated Greece

**STEALING
THE MONA LISA**

The daring theft
that made Da Vinci's
portrait priceless

**DISCOVER THE
AMERICAN
FRONTIER**

**The Sultanate
Of Women**

How a harem ruled the
Ottoman empire for a century

Ming Tombs

Inside the amazing resting
place of China's emperors

ISSUE 074
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page 42

A still from the 1962 production of *The 300 Spartans* directed by Rudolph Mate and starring Richard Egan as King Leonidas, seen here in the midst of the famous Battle of Thermopylae. While a defeat for Sparta, the legend of this valiant last stand taken against the invading Persians has inspired generations of storytellers

Welcome

So much of the ancient world is buried by myth, legend and partisan accounts of events, but that's what makes picking through the pieces so interesting sometimes. Take Sparta, for example, a city state that is vastly misunderstood, in part because what we know about it we get largely from its adversaries, but also because so much of its history became a part of Greece's epic backstory. From Leonidas I's 300 who were really a couple of thousand to depictions of Sparta as an empire builder when it would seem expansion was low on its pecking order, there's much to break down.

So, it was great to have longtime contributor Murray Dahm take a look at the rise of Sparta, to give us an insight into how this highly militarised state grew in stature, power and influence.

Oh, and I guess I should also introduce myself. You may have noticed my name last issue, but I have picked up the reins of **All About History**

from James Hoare, joining this fantastic team to help guide the magazine forward. Studying history has long been a passion of mine and I can't wait to bring you some amazing stories and conversations that help expand our understanding of the world around us. It's going to be a fascinating journey and I'd love to hear your thoughts as we move forward, so please feel free to reach out to myself and the team anytime. I really hope you enjoy the issue.

**Jonathan
Gordon**
Editor



Editor's picks

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The Real Sparta

It was fantastic to speak with ancient-world expert Philip Matyszak this issue, breaking down some of the misconceptions around Sparta and Athens

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Mona Lisa

Jack Parsons, formerly of this parish, takes us through the incredible tale of the theft that helped to make Leonardo da Vinci's painting a household name

52



The Sultanate Of Women

Ottoman expert and author Jem Duducu walks us through the incredible period when the harem of the Ottoman empire held as much power as the sultans themselves

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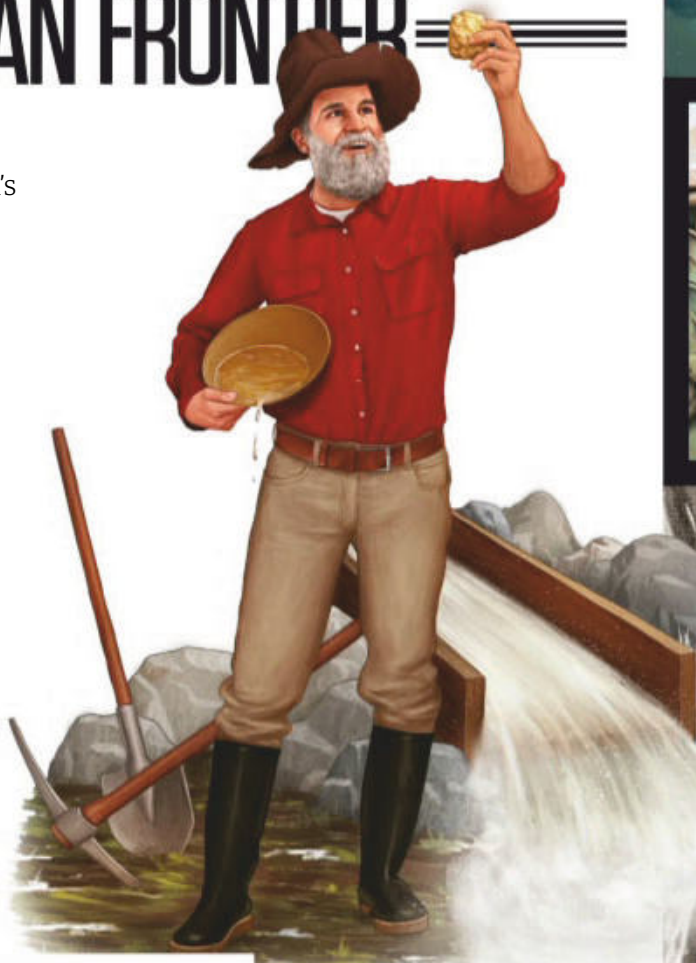
'Dr Colorado' Thomas J Noel

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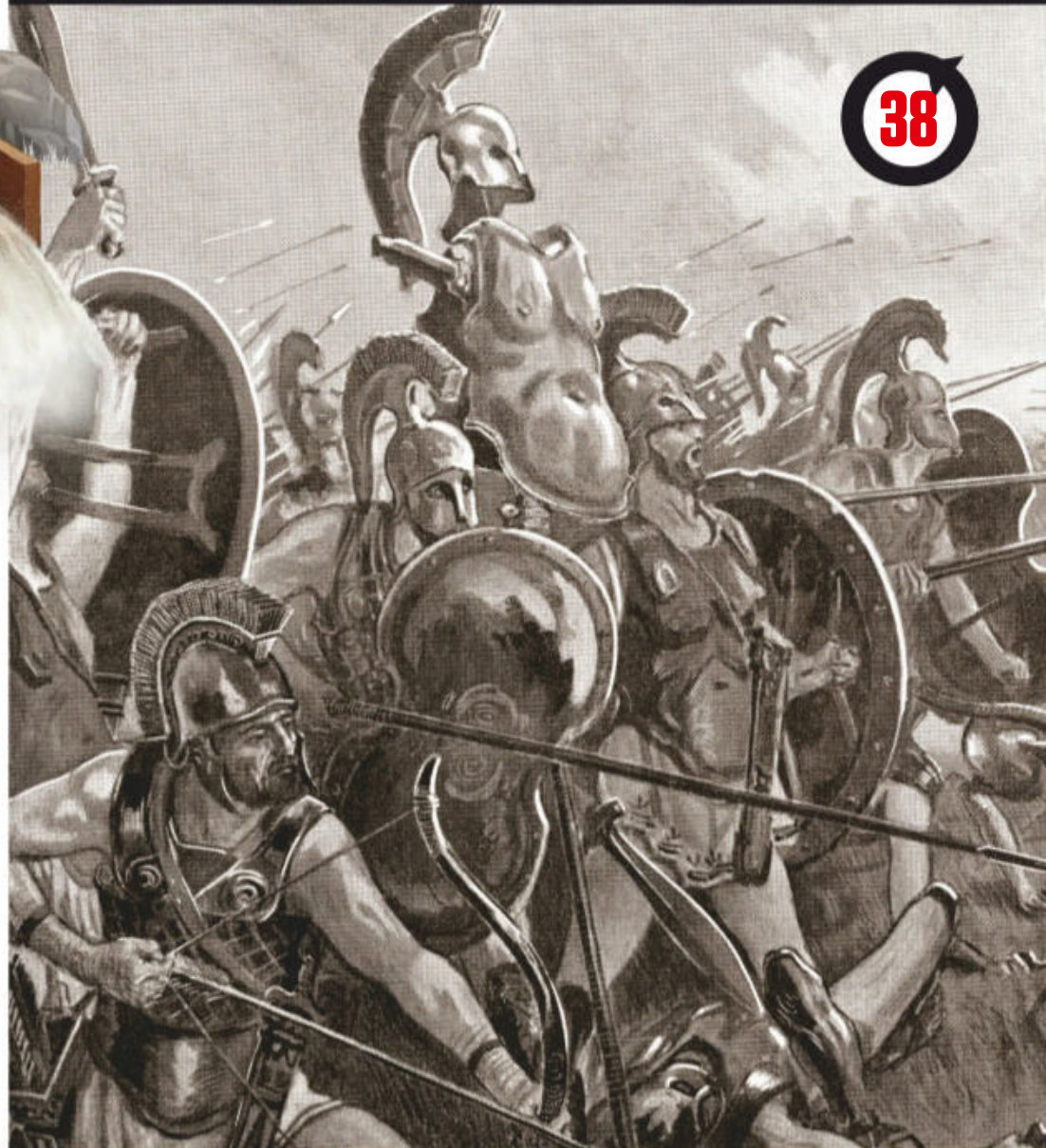
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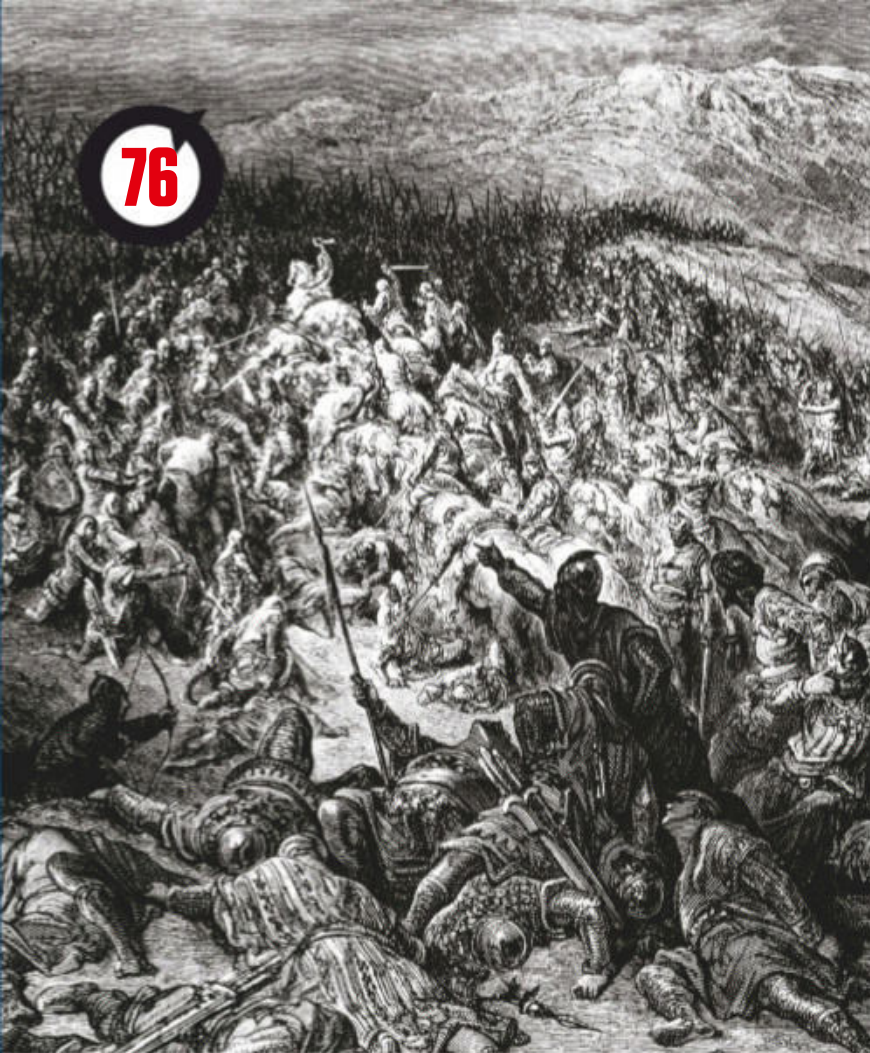
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It's picking up awards, but is *The Favourite* true to Queen Anne?







DEFINING MOMENTS

LIP READING

George HW Bush accepts his party's nomination for President of the United States of America at the 1988 Republican National Convention in New Orleans. It was the event at which he delivered possibly his most famous and long-lasting soundbite, "Read my lips: no new taxes." Unfortunately a recession early in his presidency meant that it didn't prove to be a long-lasting promise and he would go on to serve only a single term in office.

1988



DEFINING MOMENTS

ROOFTOP ROCK

Famously, The Beatles had stopped touring after their performance at Candlestick Park in San Francisco in 1966, but on 30 January 1969, during the recording process for *Let It Be*, they clambered to the roof of the Apple Corps building on Savile Row and played a surprise 42-minute set. While it was not an entirely spontaneous decision, it was not announced beforehand. It would be their final public performance as a band.

1969





DEFINING MOMENTS

VIKINGS LIVE

Around the world there are communities and organisations devoted to not only teaching history but also bringing it back to life and there's no greater example of this passion than at the Jorvik Viking Centre in York. And as it happens from 20-29 February 2019 the centre will be holding its 35th Jorvik Viking Festival packed with events and spectacles for all the family.

Visit jorvikvikingfestival.co.uk for more information.

2017



“Divine task! Immortal mission! Let us tread fast and joyfully the open trail before us! Let every American heart open wide for patriotism to glow undimmed, and confide with religious faith in the sublime and prodigious destiny of his well-loved country”

William Gilpin, explorer, politician and land speculator addressing the US Senate, 2 March 1846

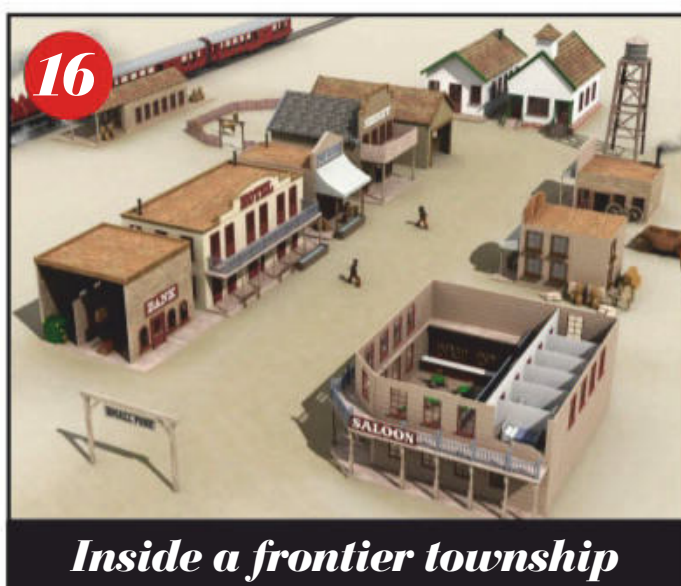




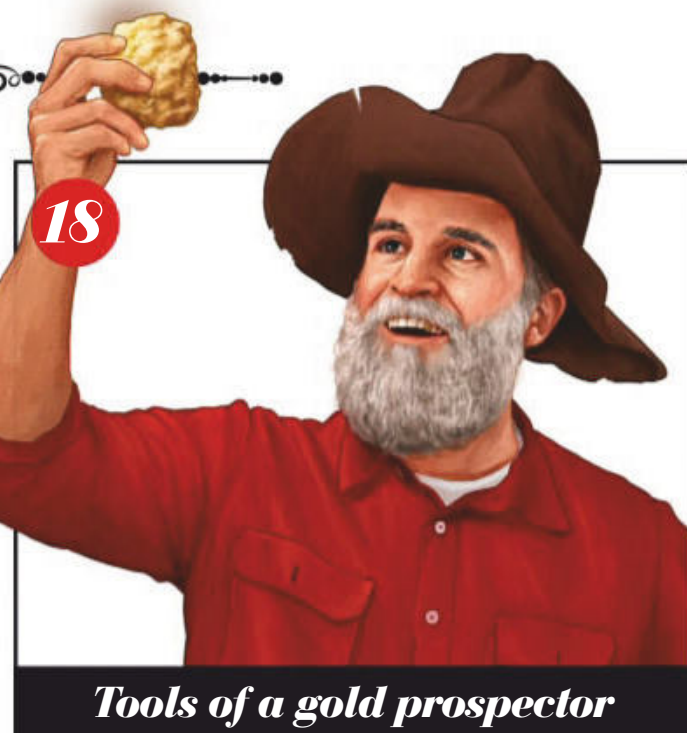
ALL ABOUT

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

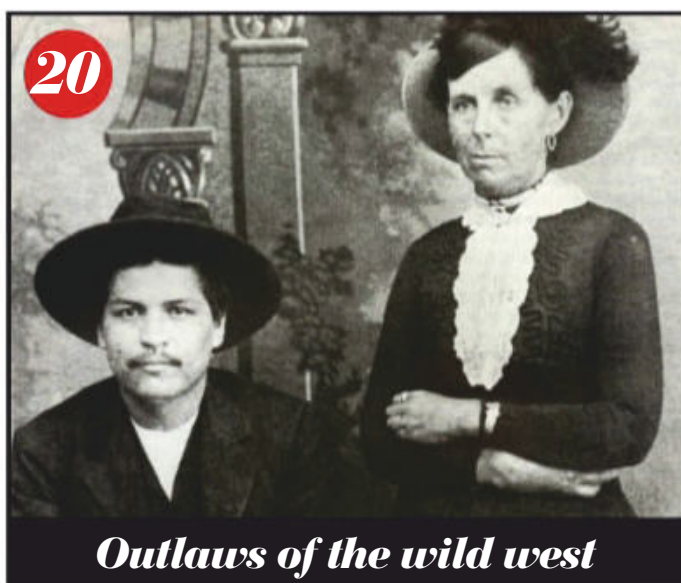
Discover how pioneers spread across the west
forging a new nation, the incredible Native
American sites that have survived this expansion
and other amazing stories



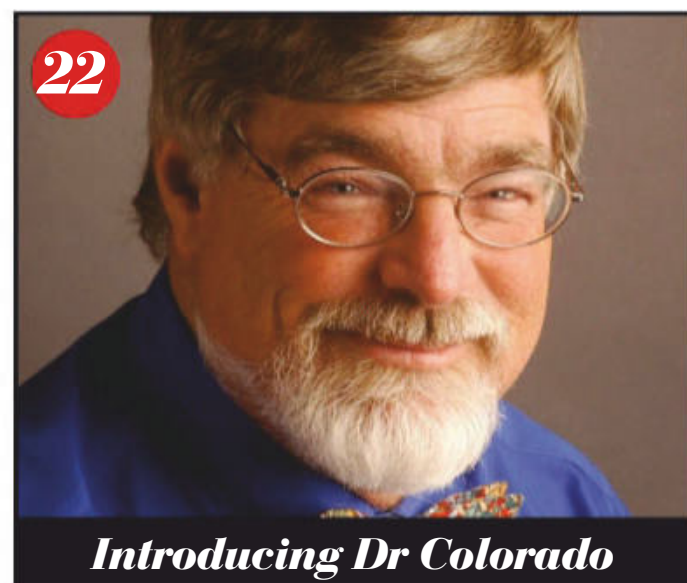
Inside a frontier township



Tools of a gold prospector



Outlaws of the wild west



Introducing Dr Colorado

Written by Katharine Marsh, David Crookes, Jan MacKell Collins



THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

The Western Frontier

Travel west with the pioneering Americans to discover how the frontier grew thanks to war, law and innovation

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

The United States buys

828,000

square miles of land from France

This

DOUBLES

the country's size

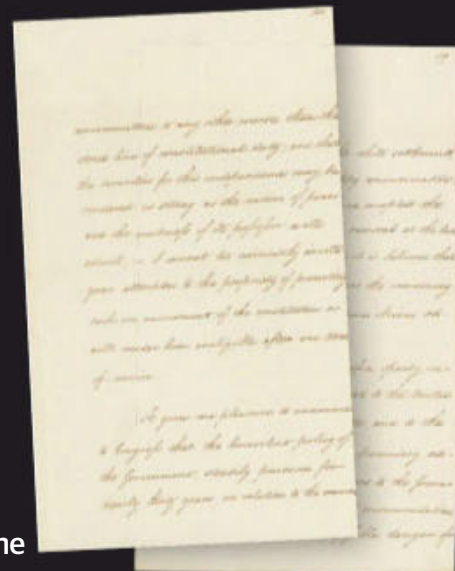
15 STATES

will be created out of this territory

A year later Thomas Jefferson commissioned the now-famous Lewis and Clark expedition to explore the new land

INDIAN REMOVAL ACT

When Americans started moving west, Native Americans were already there. As a result, the government decreed that the tribes could roam the Great Plains freely and a permanent Indian frontier was established, forcing the movement of many people.



1803

1830

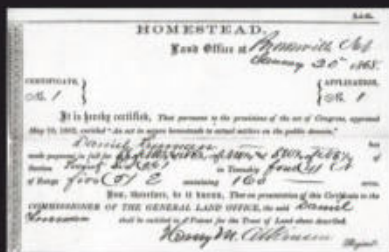


RED CLOUD'S WAR

When white settlers start going through Sioux territory to make their way west, Red Cloud begins attacking travellers. The United States army builds forts to protect its people, but they are forced to abandon them by the aggressive Sioux.

HOMESTEAD ACT

This act encourages migration west by providing 160 acres of land in exchange for a small fee. After six months of residency, settlers could then buy the land at \$1.25 an acre or live there for five years and get it for free.



THE PONY EXPRESS



Letters take months to get out to the west, but the introduction of the Pony Express speeds things up. Letters are now carried on horseback and only take ten days to reach their recipients.

THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

The United States buys

29,670

square miles from Mexico

The purchase was confirmed on

8 JUNE 1854

It cost

\$10 MILLION



1867

1862

1860

1853

ROADS OF RAIL

The Union Pacific Railroad and Central Pacific Railroad join together in Utah to make one long track, creating an easier way for people to emigrate to the Western Frontier.



The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862 paved the way for a transcontinental railway in America



DESERT LAND ACT

Settlers are now able to buy up to 640 acres of land relatively cheaply in locations where there is little to no rainfall. The money saved is usually spent on irrigation systems for crops.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

THOUSANDS of African-Americans settled in the west after the Civil War

1/3 2/3

were expected to become self-sufficient within a year

had to work as labourers or servants for white settlers

1869

1877

1880

THE GREAT MIGRATION

The event that arguably made the Oregon Trail famous saw about 1,000 people in 120 wagons spend five months trekking west in search of new lives on the frontier.



JAMES K POLK

Polk's presidency saw the United States expand as he came to a compromise with England, setting the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of the Oregon Territory and adding to America's territory.

The phrase 'Manifest Destiny' was coined, referring to the idea of a United States spanning from coast to coast



MORMONS ON THE MOVE

Brigham Young leads **148 MORMONS** to the Great Salt Lake in Utah

By 1852, **16,000 MORMONS** had arrived there

By 1869, there were **80,000**

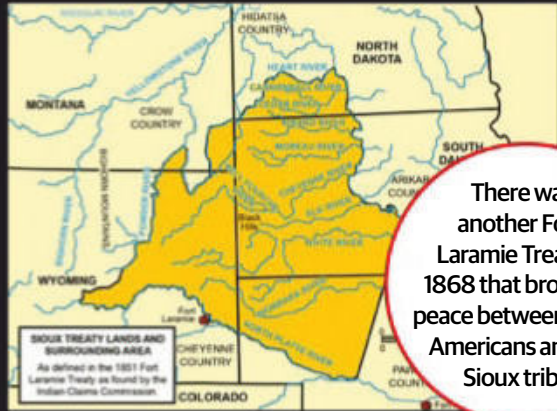
1843

1844

1847

FORT LARAMIE TREATY

The accord alters the Native American lands and says that they will not be occupied by white settlers. Native Americans are given provisions for ten years as compensation.



There was another Fort Laramie Treaty in 1868 that brokered peace between white Americans and the Sioux tribes

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH

When gold nuggets are found in Sacramento, people rush west to find their own precious metals and strike it rich. California struggles to cope with the influx of around 99,000 people, including the famed '49ers.



EVEN MORE LAND



The Mexican-American war ends with a victory for the US, and the country's territory expands further with modern-day Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Texas, California and western Colorado.

1851

1848-55

1848

INDIAN LAND FOR SALE

GET A HOME OF YOUR OWN EASY PAYMENTS

PERFECT TITLE POSSESSION WITHIN THIRTY DAYS

FINE LANDS IN THE WEST

DAWES ACT

Under this act, Native American land is redistributed to individual tribes, but any land leftover goes to white settlers. Nomadic tribes struggle to adjust to this new way of life.

WOUNDED KNEE

The Plains Indians, desperate after losing their lands and way of life, are massacred by the US Army, who mistake a Ghost Dance for a war dance, 150-300 Native Americans are slaughtered when the army opened fire.



THE CLOSING OF THE FRONTIER

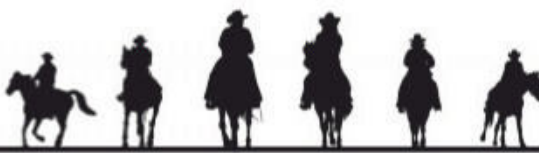
The census of 1890 declares the frontier line no longer exists. As a result, many historians refer to this as the end of the Western Frontier.



1887

1890

1890



THE AMERICAN FRONTIER



A FRONTIER TOWNSHIP

WESTERN AMERICA, 1840-1900

As the American frontier moved west across deserts and mountain ranges, huge numbers of economic migrants began to occupy the lands once dominated by the Native Americans. They lived in self-built log cabins and worked in mines, farms and ranches but, within a short space of time, towns began to form as entrepreneurs sought to cater for the pioneers' ever-expanding needs.

Aided by the expansion of the railroads, most of the shops, saloons and service providers primarily catered for nearby farming communities. They not only allowed vital provisions such as general groceries, clothes and medicines to be bought and sold, they provided a marketplace for local produce. These towns became important social meeting places.

Many frontier towns also traded with people passing through, springing up along numerous well-travelled routes. They tended to be rough places, serving copious amounts of alcohol to endlessly thirsty men, facilitating gambling and witnessing higher levels of crime than elsewhere. Many American cemeteries were named Boot Hill because people were said to have "died with their boots on".

The sustainability of a frontier town depended largely on why it formed in the first place. Cow and mining towns tended to experience short periods of boom and bust with their viability depending on the quality of the nearby grazing ground or supplies of ore. Some towns were created by speculators ahead of a new railroad while others were developed to cater for railroad construction crews.

Those that stood the test of time grew larger, attracting more people and services. It was not uncommon for restaurants, bookstores and barbers to nestle among the blacksmiths, general stores and printers. Indeed, frontier town newspapers would flourish as populations grew and they would often use the power of advertising to encourage greater levels of emigration. After all, more people equalled a more buoyant local economy and money was the primary fuel for this period of expansion.

Full steam ahead

The railroads of the frontier were revolutionary, providing a vital link to central and eastern America. Starting with the First Transcontinental Railroad, completed in 1869, they allowed goods such as cattle and wheat to be swiftly transported to market and they opened up the region to settlement. Although that sparked conflict with Native Americans living in the west, they nevertheless allowed newly created towns to thrive.

On the up

Since small settlements were served by roving peddlers taking their wagons from one place to another, a permanent dry goods store was indication of a growing frontier town. Selling textiles, clothing and sundries, they were distinct from general stores which, aside from being a popular meeting place for men and women to share gossip, sold anything from sugar, lamps and tobacco to coffee, gunpowder and schoolbooks.

Place to stay

Each frontier town would have a hotel to accommodate traders and other people passing through. Most would be basic – some flea-ridden – and, at the cheaper end of the scale, guests may not even have a room of their own. Money could be deposited in banks for safe-keeping while travelling, however, and, contrary to oft-repeated legends, bank heists were actually rare.

Main street

The buildings of a frontier town would be located along a wide main street that was flanked by raised wooden sidewalks and dotted with hitching posts so that horses and other animals could be tethered. Horses could also be kept in a livery stable for a short period, or even hired by travellers if need be.



Time to learn

Although single-room schoolhouses were set up to teach children reading, writing and arithmetic, kids were expected to help plant and harvest, so classes only tended to take place between October and May. They were solely taught by men in the early years but when birth rates and immigration rose, many women flocked westwards in the 1850s to take up teaching roles.

False fronts

A hallmark of frontier architecture were the false fronts slapped onto otherwise modest buildings to make them appear much grander than they were. The vertical, square-topped facades acted as billboards to advertise the goods or services within and they exuded a sense of permanence and success which was vital to foster trust among customers.

Places of worship

Initially pioneers would get together for a religious service in someone's home but it wasn't long before churches of various denominations were being built. In Dodge City, Kansas, for example, a church group was founded in November 1872, while the Union Church was erected in 1874. Mormons migrated to Utah in 1847.

Creating tools

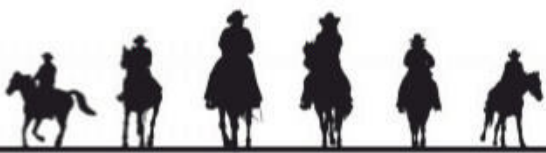
Blacksmiths mainly worked with iron and steel and they spent most of their time repairing farm tools or producing new items from scratch. They operated from shops that contained a hot forge fanned by giant bellows, bending iron on an anvil and making use of a vice, hammer and tongs. It was not uncommon for blacksmiths to pair up with a farrier for the shoeing of oxen and horses, although in remote townships they would do it themselves.

Don't get sick

Illness and disease were rife in frontier settlements. Gold miners could suffer cholera, typhoid, smallpox, tuberculosis and other terrible ailments, and malaria was widespread. Apothecaries sought to assist, typically crushing herbs and spices with a pestle and mortar. Morphine was viewed as an injectable wonder drug but recreational use of opium also soared, particularly among immigrant Chinese labourers working in the gold mines.

Swinging open

Saloons were often the first establishments to open in a frontier township but these 24/7 taverns and bars soon gained a reputation for vice and violence thanks to a heady mix of cheap liquor and high-stakes gambling. Barmen would often cut drinks with gunpowder or ammonia, while weapon-carrying cowboys, miners and fur trappers engaged in frequent shootouts as blood-soaked brawls spilled outside. As if to underline their seedy nature, these dens of corruption typically doubled as brothels too.



THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

SHIRTS AND UNDERSHIRTS

The clothes wore by miners depended on where they had come from but they were always durable and practical. Americans wore woollen Henley-style shirts as undershirts covered by a coloured or patterned loose-fitting shirt typically made of linen, cotton, wool or flannel, with two or three buttons at the neck. They'd also wear a hat to protect their head from the sun as well as a neckerchief.

THE *Anatomy* of A GOLD PROSPECTOR CALIFORNIA, 1848-1855

SIFTING FOR GOLD

Although they were the most ineffective of the prospectors' tools, shallow pans were initially popular and they worked on the principle that gold was heavier than dirt. Miners working nine hours each day would carefully swirl a mixture of gravel and water until it spilled out in the hope that gold dust and nuggets would sit pretty at the bottom.

HEAVY DUTY TROUSERS

Given the laborious work that was being undertaken, miners required heavy-duty trousers so they wore heavy cotton, light canvas or woollen pants (which offered protection for the legs and were less prone to tearing), held up with a belt or - for poorer miners - suspenders. They certainly didn't wear blue jeans. Bavarian immigrant Levis Strauss may well have made his way to San Francisco in 1853, but copper-riveted blue denim waist overalls were only invented 20 years later.

SHOVELING UP CASH

Samuel Brannan is understood to have been the first person to publicise the discovery of gold and he cleverly snapped up every shovel he could find in order to resell them for a hefty profit over the course of nine weeks. Shovels could fetch as much as \$36, or \$1,000 in today's money, but they were invaluable for shifting large amounts of gravel.

SLUICING IT OPEN

Within a short timeframe, miners sought less labour-intensive methods of extracting gold. Sluice boxes would separate gold from gravel using running water: the gold would be slowed and become trapped by obstructions called riffles. In doing so, they'd process 200 times the amount of gold than panning. Prospectors would also use rocker boxes - a high-sided box placed on rockers ideal for small operators.

BOOTED UP

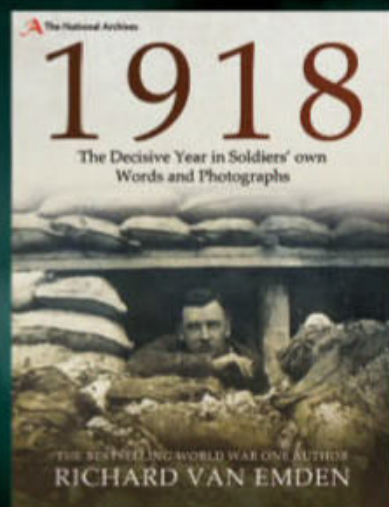
Strong lace-up mining boots made of leather were generally worn although they'd be supplemented by rubber boots if the miner spent much of his time in water. Neither would be inexpensive, indeed, the high cost of the tools and clothes needed by prospectors meant many struggled to make profits and looked for other ways to make a living.

PICKING THE BEST

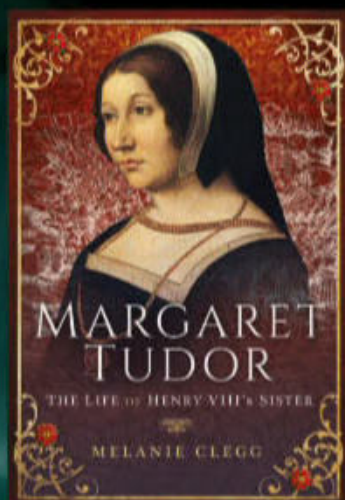
After gold was discovered in California in 1848, about 300,000 prospectors descended upon the area in a bid to make their fortune. Pickaxes proved a great tool for loosening dirt and rocks, with entrepreneurs making a fortune selling them to lone miners before heavy machinery ended up doing the hard work.

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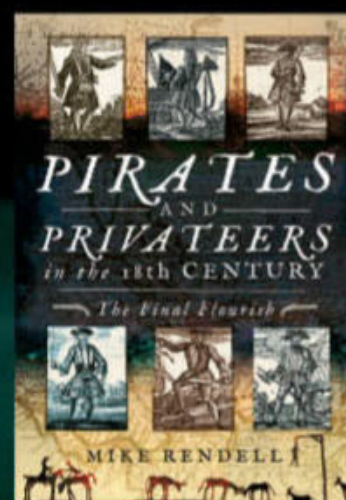
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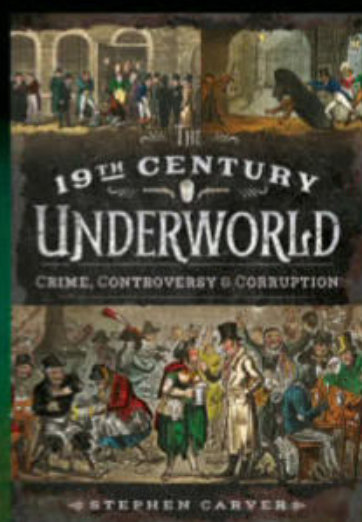
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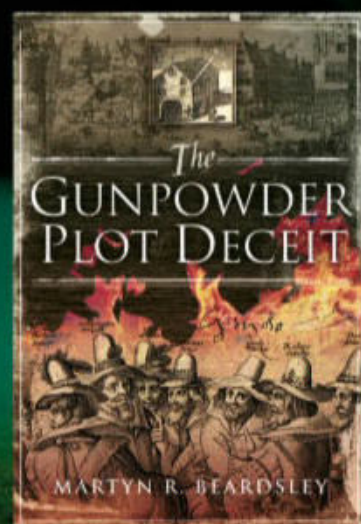
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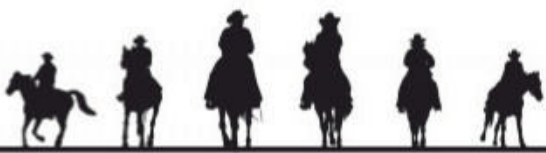
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THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

Hall of Fame WILD WEST OUTLAWS

Here are ten of the men and women who robbed and killed their way to fortune and an early grave



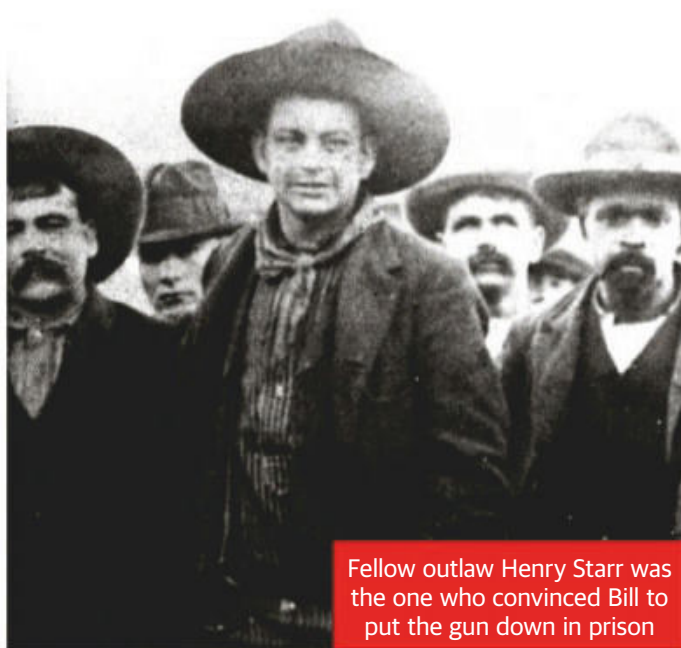
JOHN WESLEY HARDIN

AMERICAN 1853-1895

Aged just 15 John Wesley Hardin killed his first man, a former slave. Over the next ten years he would kill at least eight Union soldiers and four black policemen.

Finally, in 1877, he was

caught and put on trial for murder. Sentenced to 25 years hard labour he served his time and then retired to Gonzales, Texas, with his children. But it wouldn't be long until he was back to a life of crime. He remarried, then abandoned his wife and began thieving, only to be shot in the back of the head in Acme Saloon, El Paso.



Fellow outlaw Henry Starr was the one who convinced Bill to put the gun down in prison

CHEROKEE BILL **AMERICAN 1876-1896**

Crawford Goldsby, better known today as Cherokee Bill, was 18 at the time of his first murder. The victim was a 35-year-old who he had been fighting with, and Bill quickly joined up with Bill and Jim Cook, who were mixed-race outlaws just like Bill himself. They spent their time robbing and killing, until one fateful day when Bill was betrayed and captured by two people he thought were his friends. Sentenced to hang at Fort Smith, Arkansas, he managed to get a pistol and shoot a guard. When he was finally hanged, Bill was only 20.

Brad Pitt played Jesse James in *The Assassination Of Jesse James By The Coward Robert Ford*

As a teenager, Jesse participated in massacres in the Civil War

JESSE JAMES

AMERICAN 1847-1882

Many thought that Jesse James would become a minister like his father, but then the American Civil War struck.

His family joined the Confederates but after being interrogated by Union soldiers, Jesse joined a guerrilla unit. It was here that he learned to plan and attack, then flee and hide. After the war Jesse put that learning into action as he became an outlaw, murdering and robbing. Jesse then began making a folk hero out of himself, defending his actions in the Kansas City Times and appearing as a Robin Hood-style character. He terrorised the south for 16 years before he was shot and killed by Robert Ford.



In 2017 a tintype was discovered that is believed to show Billy the Kid and Pat Garrett in 1880. It had been bought at a flea market for just \$10

Billy the Kid escaped jail two weeks before his scheduled execution

BILLY THE KID

AMERICAN 1859/60-1881

Otherwise known as William H Bonney Jr or Henry McCarty, Billy the Kid's outlaw career didn't last very long. As a child he emigrated with his family from New York City to Kansas. When his father died, it was on to Colorado and then New Mexico, and a teenaged Billy fell into lawlessness. In December 1880 he was arrested for murder by Pat Garrett and was sentenced to hang, but he escaped by shooting two deputies. He couldn't run for long, though - Garrett tracked him down and shot him dead on 14 July 1881, when Billy was only 21.

PEARL HART

CANADIAN
1876-1955

The last stagecoach robbery was also the only one in Arizona to be carried out by a woman. The lady in question, Pearl Hart, was Canadian, but she fell



Pearl found fame in prison as a female outlaw

for an American and together they worked at Chicago's World's Fair. But she was obsessed with the cowboy lifestyle and so she moved Colorado. Upset that life on the frontier wasn't all it was cracked up to be, she turned to theft and was imprisoned.

LAURA BULLION

AMERICAN 1876-1961

The daughter of a German immigrant and a Native American, Laura Bullion knew about outlaws from a young age - her father was one. Laura was keen to keep lawbreaking in the family, robbing banks and even joining the famed Wild Bunch with Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid. However in 1901 a train robbery went south and Laura was arrested and sentenced to five years. After her release she set herself on the straight and narrow, becoming a seamstress in Tennessee.

Upon retiring from crime, Laura changed her name to Freda Lincoln



BELLE STARR

AMERICAN 1848-1889

Myra Belle had a comfortable childhood - she was rich, bright and good at the piano. But her picture-perfect world changed when the Kansas-Missouri Border War broke out. Myra's family moved to Texas as a result. It was there that Myra met members of the James-Younger gang, who were fleeing a crime scene in Missouri, and she began to fall for Cole Younger and joined the band of criminals. She soon fell in love with another outlaw, Jim Reed, and they married in 1866. When Reed murdered a man, the family fled to California, where they tortured a Creek Indian into telling them where he had hidden \$30,000 in gold.



Myra Belle became known as Belle Starr, and she was later called the Bandit Queen

Belle Starr got her nickname of Bandit Queen by ruling gangs with guns, sheer will and personal favours



BLUE DUCK

CHEROKEE 1858-1895

While many outlaws fought against Native Americans, some Native Americans were actually outlaws. One of these was Blue Duck, a Cherokee who shot dead a farmer and his hired hand. He was sentenced to hang, but his lawyer appealed to have his sentence reduced to life in prison. It worked, and Blue Duck was even released nine years later. Some say that Belle Starr had a hand in his release, as the two have been photographed together.

BUTCH CASSIDY

AMERICAN 1866-1909

The founder of the Wild Bunch has been cemented in history, and for good reason. He teamed up with a lot of the big outlaw names, like the Sundance Kid, to wreak havoc on the western frontier. However his first offence was relatively minor - he broke into a shop and stole a pair of jeans, leaving an IOU with the intention of paying for them later. The store's owner pressed charges, but Butch was acquitted. He then made a name for himself robbing banks.



The name 'Butch' probably comes from his time as a butcher

BIG NOSE KATE

HUNGARIAN
1849-1940

Her name was Mary Katherine Haroney, but she went by Big Nose Kate to differentiate herself from another prostitute. Her father had been a surgeon to Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, but by the time she was a teenager, Kate was orphaned. She was in foster care for a time until she ran away. Kate soon met Doc Holliday and the pair became lovers. In fact, they were so close that when Doc was arrested in 1877, Kate set a large fire and then held a guard at gunpoint until he freed the outlaw. The two eventually went their separate ways, and Kate lived to be 90.

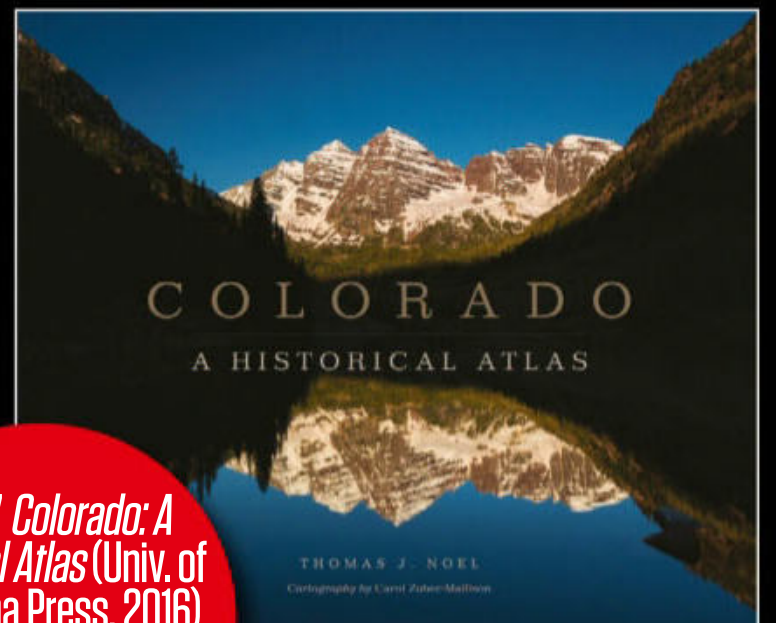




Q&A With...

DR THOMAS J NOEL

**"DOCTOR COLORADO'S" SHINGLE
IS ALWAYS OUT FOR THE
CENTENNIAL STATE'S HISTORY**



*In 2017 **Colorado: A Historical Atlas** (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2016) won the Colorado Book Award for best history book*

Dr Noel is an award-winning author and Colorado's official state historian. He is professor of history at University of Colorado, Denver, and has authored 53 books and thousands of articles. In 2018 he was awarded the Colorado Author's League Lifetime Achievement Award. He appears as Dr Colorado regularly on *Colorado And Company* on Denver's NBC.

Q. BEING A NATIVE OF BOSTON, WHAT IS YOUR LINK TO COLORADO?

A. Although I was born in Boston, I must point out that I was conceived in Colorado, inside the Moffat Railroad Tunnel.

Q. WHO GAVE YOU YOUR COLOURFUL MONIKER, 'DR COLORADO'?

A. I received it from Colorado's star marketing man, the late Lew Cady. He proposed that I become Dr Colorado and make appearances. He set up a booth for me with signs at the front - "The Doctor is In" or "The Doctor is Out" - so I could go for a bathroom or a beer break. Then he gave me a lab coat monogrammed 'Dr Colorado'. At the time, I was mowing yards for \$1 a yard. I asked if the Dr Colorado gig paid. It was \$100 an hour! So I have been Dr Colorado ever since.

Q. IS IT TRUE THAT YOUR PHD DISSERTATION FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER WAS ON THE BARS OF DENVER?

A. Yes. I was looking for a topic when my main advisor suggested, "Why don't you do your dissertation on bars; you are already spending so much time there?" So I undertook to visit every single bar in Denver. I focused on the social, political and economic aspects, how they welcomed ethnic and gay groups, how they worked elections, and how they helped newcomers find a job, a home, a spouse. This was in the 1970s when the Denver Urban Renewal Authority was demolishing many skid row bars. So I visited those bars first.

Initially my wife, Sumiko, would go with me. She was a visiting nurse who was assigned to make sure that the skid row denizens who had tuberculosis were taking their medicine. Along with another nurse she would go to the hotels and flophouses where the patients lived, but found that these guys hit the bars first thing in the morning. The landlords would tell the girls in which bars their patients could be found. The pair, in their nursing uniforms, would find their patients and take them, one at a time, to a back room and order them, "Drop your pants." Then they would give them a shot of streptomycin in the fanny.

Q. WHAT HAVE YOU WRITTEN LATELY?

A. Since *Colorado: A Historical Atlas* came out, I have co-authored with Steve Leonard on *A Short History Of Denver* (2015), and just finished *E-470*:

More Than A Highway: The Story Of A Global Tolling Industry Pioneer. Right now I am updating my book, *Buildings Of Colorado* and hope it will be out this year. Also I have signed on with Globe Pequot Press to write *Boom & Bust Colorado*, which will be out later in the year and focuses on booms and busts in the soaring beer and marijuana business. As the first state to legalise recreational marijuana, Colorado is reaping more than \$100 million a year in taxes.

Q. WHY IS PRESERVING HISTORY SO IMPORTANT?

A. I have come to appreciate, promote and practice historic preservation as a way to make history come alive. With 2,000 new residents arriving in Colorado every week, it is vital to preserve the buildings that meant so much to our ancestors and can become anchors for present Coloradans. I served as chair of the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, which has now designated more than 350 individual landmarks and 56 historic districts.

Landmark designation has transformed the lower downtown from dollar-a-night flophouses to million dollar lofts.

It is the most spectacular case of how historic district designation can stabilise and uplift neighbourhoods. Preservation is a way to promote a sense of place, of commitment to your neighbourhood, your city. I try to build up interest in local landmarks, be they churches or taverns, parks or haunted houses.

"I TRY TO BUILD UP INTEREST IN LOCAL LANDMARKS, BE THEY CHURCHES OR TAVERNS OR PARKS"

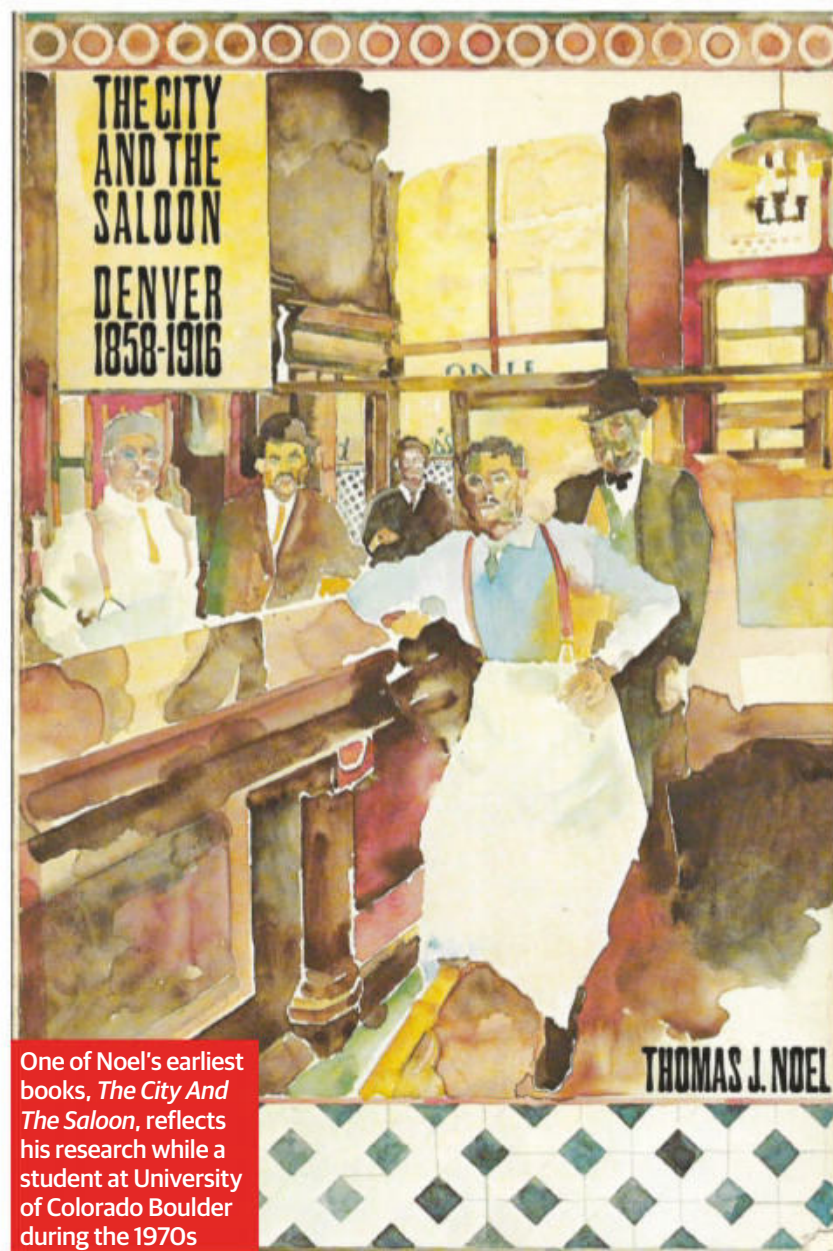
Q. WE HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF VIEWING YOUR WONDERFUL LIBRARY, WHICH SPANS THE INNER WALLS OF YOUR BASEMENT. TELL US MORE ABOUT YOUR BOOK COLLECTION.

A. In the last few years my bookshelves have started groaning. I originally aspired to collect every book ever written on Colorado. Now if I acquire another book, I have to make shelf space by giving books to the Denver Public Library. I have kept the most precious books, of course,

hoping to take them to heaven with me.

I know I am going there, in case you wondered, because the archbishop promised me that when I finished *Colorado Catholicism And The Archdiocese Of Denver, 1857-1989*.

Also I work with grad students and Denver Public Library to list all new Colorado non-fiction



One of Noel's earliest books, *The City And The Saloon*, reflects his research while a student at University of Colorado Boulder during the 1970s

books in *The Colorado Book Review*. We try to list all books and review the more important ones. I have loved teaching at CU Denver full time since 1990. I am proud of many students whom I have helped to publish their own books or articles over the years, as well as those with whom I have co-authored.

I do suspect my students have taught me more than I have taught them.

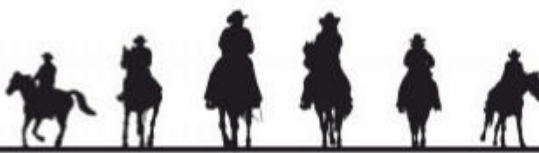
Q. IT SEEMS YOU ARE ALWAYS ON THE RUN, GIVING TOURS FOR COLORADO HISTORY BUFFS, HISTORY COLORADO AND THE SMITHSONIAN. DOES IT FEEL AS THOUGH YOU EAT, BREATHE, DRINK AND SLEEP HISTORY?

A. My wife takes wonderful care of me and runs the household, giving me all the time I want for writing. Since I work at home I take breaks to go out and putter in the garden, pull a few weeds, and pick flowers. I love gardening. Voltaire, the wonderful French wit and historian, concluded his masterpiece, *Candide*, with his final advice, "Cultive ton jardin" (cultivate your garden).

Voltaire also gave us my favourite definition of history as "a trick we play on the dead".

For the 15th year in a row, Noel will take part in Colorado Preservation Inc's annual Saving Places conference in Denver in February.

You can view his books and upcoming events at his website, dr-colorado.com.



THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

Places to Explore THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

Ancient Native American sacred places survive to show a lost way of life

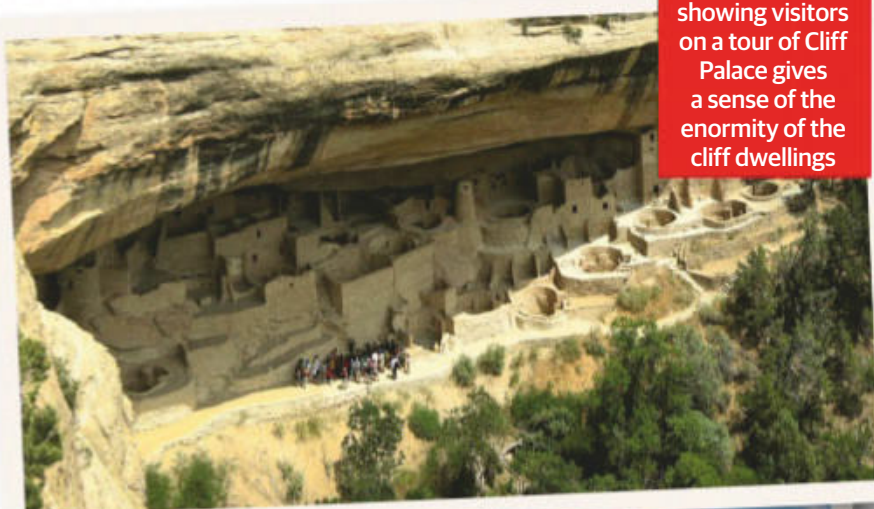
1 MESA VERDE NATIONAL MONUMENT

MONTEZUMA COUNTY, COLORADO

Between 600 and 1300 CE, Ancestral Pueblo people built magnificent dwellings high in the cliffs of this area, which afford spectacular views and a spiritual sense of place. Some 5,000 archeological sites and 600 cliff dwellings survive, showing how the Pueblos lived, worked, and followed their beliefs. Their detailed history is on display at the Mesa Verde Visitor & Research Center.

Rangers guide visitors through the cliff dwellings and talk about their history. Be sure to visit the most spectacular dwelling, Cliff House, but Balcony House and Long House are equally fascinating. Back country hikes are available to Mug House, Square Tower House and Yucca House. Bring your bicycle for a breathtaking bike tour along Wetherill Mesa. Special tours include Cliff House at twilight, plus Early Bird and Sunrise tours of Balcony House. Know before you go: visitors walk mostly dirt trails, climb ladders, and traverse steep hills to access the ruins. Wear good walking shoes, bring water, and make sure you are fit for the hikes.

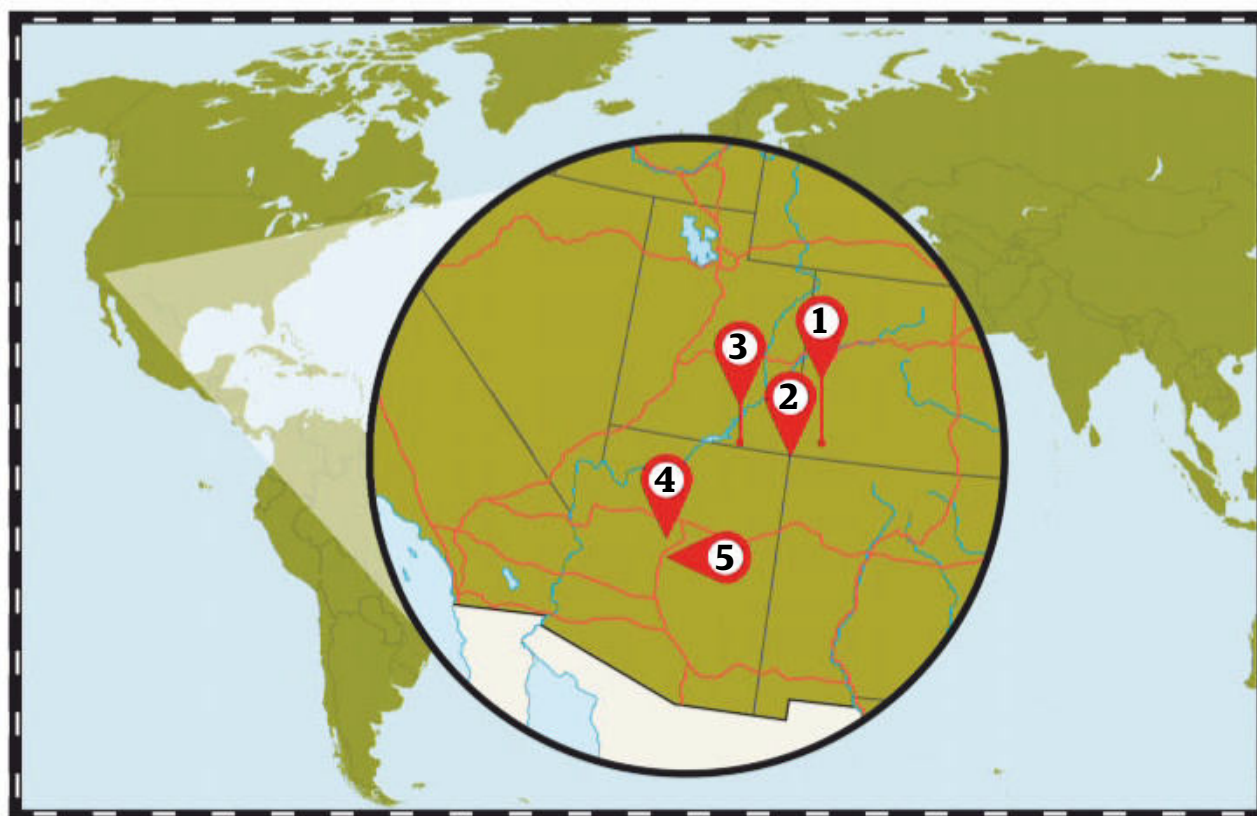
Best time to visit is between late spring and early fall. Hours vary according to season. Tickets cost \$5 per person. Learn more at nps.gov/meve/index.htm.



An aerial view showing visitors on a tour of Cliff Palace gives a sense of the enormity of the cliff dwellings



The trail to Step House on Wetherill Mesa is paved, but can be strenuous



2 FOUR CORNERS NATIONAL MONUMENT SIXTY MILES FROM FARMINGTON, NEW MEXICO

Nowhere else in the United States can you stand in four states at the same time! At this attraction, visitors can be in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah at this one unique quadripoint.

There is much history here, from occupation by Native Americans, to ownership by Spain, to Mexican occupation in 1821, and finally to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded the region to the United States.

This remote landmark became particularly popular after both Arizona and New Mexico Territories were added to the Union in 1912.

Due to several older surveys, the quadripoint is actually off by some 551 metres. Still, Four Corners remains a most historic and unique area.

Owned by the Navajo Nation, the monument has a visitor centre and seasonal Native American vendors offering traditional food, jewellery and crafts. Picnic tables and toilets are on site. Know before you go: Four Corners is on tribal land. Please respect the residents and obey all signs.

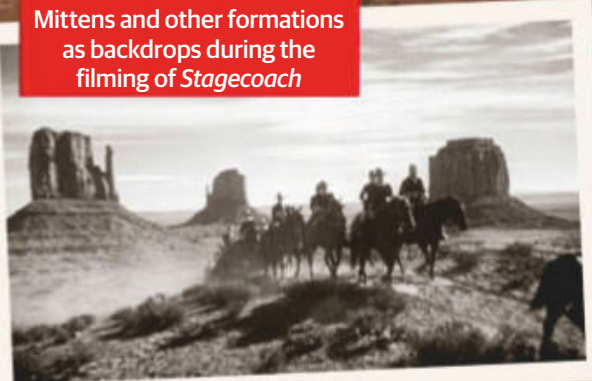
Four Corners National Monument is open year-round, but hours vary. Closed Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Years Day. Tickets are \$5 per person, children aged six and under free. Access utah.com/four-corners.



Four Corners National Monument now receives thousands of annual visitors. Be sure to gas up and bring water



Director John Ford used the Mittens and other formations as backdrops during the filming of *Stagecoach*



The Mittens and Merrick Butte are just three of the iconic geological sandstone formations to be found in Monument Valley



Thousands of ancient petroglyphs are to be found throughout Agua Fria National Monument

3 MONUMENT VALLEY NAVAJO TRIBAL PARK MONUMENT VALLEY, UTAH

You have likely seen the Mittens and other dramatic geologic formations of Monument Valley in the movies, made forever famous with John Ford's 1939 film *Stagecoach* starring John Wayne. Nothing compares, however, to seeing all of the amazing monoliths scattered throughout this desert valley in person. Myriad colours against the rocks, sparsely surrounded by purple sage and rising against bluer-than-blue skies, make this park a very special place indeed. Sunrise and sunset are particularly spectacular.

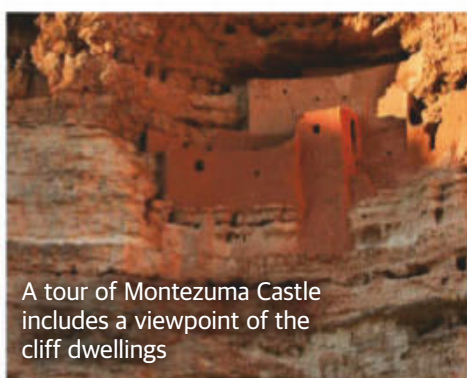
The Navajo and other Native American tribes have called Monument Valley home for centuries. To them the isolated valley and its expansive floor is called Tsé Bii Ndzigaii, or "Clearing Among the Rock," a spiritual place that was not officially returned to the Navajo Nation until 1933. This

is why visitors are no longer free to roam the entire park alone, thereby protecting the fragile ecosystem and rock formations.

For those wanting to see the Mittens, a one-way driving tour is available. But to see other geological wonders - and there are many - you must purchase a guided Jeep tour. It's worth it. Goulding's Lodge at the park is where the movie stars of the past have stayed. There is also camping nearby, and visitors won't want to miss a tour of the museum, housed in a former trading post.

Open May 1 to September 30, 6am to 8pm and October 1 to April 30, 8am to 5pm, \$10 per person, or \$20 per car up to four people. Children age nine and under are free.

4 TUZIGOOT AND MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENTS CLARKDALE AND PRESCOTT, ARIZONA



A tour of Montezuma Castle includes a viewpoint of the cliff dwellings



Tuzigoot National Monument is great for kids, who enjoy walking among the ruins

Visitors get a 'two-for-one' at these remote monuments, each offering interpretive centres, ruins and trails with scenic views. Between 1100 and 1425 CE, the Sinagua people (a pre-Columbian culture) erected these places in which to thrive. While Tuzigoot served as more of a farming village, Montezuma Castle - mistakenly named by Anglos who believed the cliff dwelling was related to Aztec leader Montezuma - contains five stories and approximately 20 rooms.

Tuzigoot overlooks the beautifully scenic Verde Valley, with the Verde River snaking through the area some 36 metres below. The trails are easy and give access to the ruins themselves, comprised of about 110 rooms whose foundations remain. Montezuma Castle is inaccessible, but remains highly visible from the trail below. The two monuments are about 36km apart, making for a most pleasant day trip to see both. The trails are dirt so make sure to wear sturdy walking shoes.

Both monuments are open 8am to 5pm each day. \$10 for ages 16 and up includes a tour of both places, and is good for seven days. Children 15 and younger are free.

5 AGUA FRIA NATIONAL MONUMENT

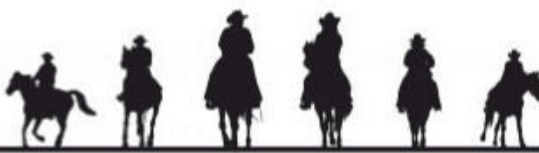
NEAR PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

Agua Fria, established in 2000 as a national monument, is perhaps the best kept secret among Arizona's parks. This highly remote area is comprised of semi-desert grasslands, rocky terrains, stunning ridges and deep valleys through which the Agua Fria River winds its way towards Phoenix. A host of animals, from fish and desert tortoise to antelope and javelina make their homes here. Plant life can range from cottonwoods to native cacti.

Don't let the barren land fool you - within the monument are over 450 identified ancient ruins dating back to 1250 CE. There are also petroglyphs, mining structures from the 1900s and Basque sheep camps. Of note is the ghost town of Richinbar, a mining town established in 1896. Its ruins are located near a ridge offering astounding views of the river below. Due to its remote location, it is best to procure maps and other information about the monument for maximum enjoyment. You can read about Richinbar at ghosttowns.com/states/az/richinbar.html. Amenities are non-existent here, but campers will enjoy driving or hiking to the monument for a night's rest under the beautiful Arizona stars.

Know before you go: The terrain is rough, so good walking shoes are a must. Stay away from mine shafts, do not disturb artefacts, and be alert for snakes and other wildlife. If hiking, let someone know where you are headed.

Open 365 days a year. Free to the public. Visit blm.gov/visit/agua-fria for more information.



Historical Treasures

COLT PEACEMAKER

THE GUN THAT WON THE WEST UNITED STATES, 1873-1892

The pioneers on the western frontier relied heavily on their weapons in order to survive and, with an abundance of rifles, shotguns and handguns, there was certainly no shortage of choice. One gun shot its way to the top, however, if not in sales then most definitely in the mark it left on an iconic generation. Think of the legendary cowboys and other such men of the Wild West and the Colt Single Action Army will suddenly spring to mind.

This was the gun used in the 30-second shootout between lawmen and outlaws at O.K. Corral in the mining boomtown of Tombstone, Arizona Territory at 3.30pm on 26 October 1881. It was the US Army's weapon of choice from 1873 and the pistol used during

General George Armstrong Custer's last stand at the Little Bighorn three years later (following the massacre of his US Cavalry column, Native American fighters grabbed the guns as prized possessions).

“THIS WAS THE GUN USED IN THE 30-SECOND SHOOTOUT AT O.K. CORRAL”

But then it's easy to see the historic attraction of this rugged six-shooter. Produced by the firearms company Colt, whose founder Samuel Colt had patented a percussion revolver design in February 1836, the Single Action Army was well known for its accuracy. It was designed ten years after Colt's death in 1872 by William Mason and Charles Brinckerhoff Richards and it chambered the powerful centrefire .45 Colt cartridge.

The pistol was also less prone to jamming, which also ensured its popularity. The Single Action Army gained its name 'Peacemaker'

in October 1874 thanks to the gun dealer and Colt distributor Benjamin Kittredge & Co of Cincinnati. It also earned the nickname "the gun that won the west" due to it being a frontier favourite involved in so many infamous shootouts.

This reputation was cemented by showman William 'Buffalo Bill' Cody who was known to laud the Peacemaker variant Colt Frontier during performances. Thus, it was pitted firmly in the minds of audiences.

In that sense, promotion and legend has played as much part in the weapon's reputation as its proficiency even years later (barely did a Wild West movie's credits roll without viewers having caught a glimpse of one).

You then only need to consider the names of those who were faithful to the Peacemaker - the holsters of Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, John Slaughter and more would perhaps have felt empty with anything else inside.



Although this Colt Peacemaker is dated 1874 and fell out of production in 1941, the pistol began being manufactured again in 1956

LONG SHOT

The models made for the US Army had 7.5-inch long barrels, together with a wooden grip. More than 30,000 were purchased at a cost of \$13 each and, between 1895 and 1903, a good number were shortened to 5.5-inches. Civilian models would have shorter, four-and-three-quarter-inch barrels.

DON'T BLOW

Even though all six of the Peacemaker's chambers could be loaded, there was a risk that dropping the pistol or hitting it hard would cause it to unintentionally fire with potentially devastating consequences. For that reason many users would leave an empty chamber under the hammer.

GETTING READY FOR ACTION

The pistol was referred to as "single action" because pulling the trigger would only release the hammer, which had to be cocked manually before each shot could be fired. In a double action revolver, the trigger also cocks the hammer.

SHOOT TO KILL

When used by the US Army the pistol was designed to make use of .45-calibre Colt cartridges. Those sold to civilians had different calibres with the Frontier model and a number of Peacemakers using .44-.40 Winchester centrefire cartridges.

Hollywood actor John Wayne used a Colt Peacemaker on screen in the 1967 movie *War Wagon*

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XS927/N, RAF No.74 Squadron 'The Tigers',
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THE F.6 IS THE ULTIMATE FIGHTER VERSION OF THE LIGHTNING. It remains an aviation icon of the Cold War Period and one of the most significant achievements of the British aviation industry.

The Lightning was operated by the infamous No.74 'Tiger' Squadron of the RAF who's history can be traced back to 1st July 1917. No.74 squadron selected to welcome the Lightning into frontline service in the summer of 1960 also operating the F.3 variant as well as the T.4 and T.5 trainers.

With the Lightning Britain had its first true supersonic interceptor and one of the most potent fighting aeroplanes the world had ever seen. Charged with protecting Britain from aerial attack, everything about a Lightning mission involved speed, with pilots using the blistering climb performance of the aircraft to mount a 'Supersonic dash' to the target, returning to base, refuelling and rearming before repeating the process if the situation dictated.

The Lightning served to inspire a great many people to join the Royal Air Force and for many, is still an enduring symbol of when the British aviation industry was at the peak of its manufacturing prowess.

THE RISE OF SPARTA

From the 8th century onwards Sparta came to be the dominant state in Greece, culminating in their victory in the Peloponnesian War in 404 BCE

Written by Murray Dahm

Sparta is known from the earliest periods of Greek history, Menelaus and his wife Helen of Sparta during the Trojan War being a case in point. The Sparta that came to dominate Greek culture for more than two centuries in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE evolved later. It is Sparta's great rival city, Athens, that we have the most information about.

Our most important surviving literary sources from ancient Greece (such as Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon) were written at Athens, by Athenians or for Athenians. Athens was also the city that put itself and its ideas forward most in art and literature. Even among Athenians, however, Sparta was a city that fascinated them. When Athenians, and later writers, wrote about Sparta, they wrote to explain the differences between these two Greek city states.

Athens and Sparta were cities of great contrasts - Sparta with its political system of dual kings and an education system designed to produce only warriors, the Spartiates. All adult males in Sparta had only one job, that of being heavy-infantry hoplites. The Spartan state and its vast system of state slaves, the Helots, was designed to facilitate and support the military dominance of Sparta. Sparta was a conservative city and culture, and it was surrounded by other cities in Laconia in the Peloponnese who all benefitted from Sparta's

military protection (these were known as the Periocoi or 'dwellers around'). This system allowed Sparta to become a dominant force throughout Greece, fielding an army with the best reputation and the most training of any city state.

This military dominance in turn led to Sparta taking the lead in political disputes between other cities. Winning Sparta's support was a key factor in many such disputes. Sparta's political system, which stretched back to the 7th century at least, was old-fashioned and had avoided the disruptions that other Greek states had experienced in the 7th and 6th centuries when tyranny and other political systems came to the fore.

The exact timings of Sparta's political evolution are difficult to pin down and were already semi-legendary in the ancient world. The first aspect of Sparta's rise to dominate Greece came with the Dorian invasions of the post-Mycenean and post-Trojan War world, around 1000 BCE, and the city that came from that invasion began in the 10th century. Sparta was unusual for various reasons. It had no walls (and would later rely on the power and reputation of its hoplites to act as its walls). The city was made up of a conglomeration of four, or perhaps five villages. In our sources, Spartans are referred to as Lacedaemonians (hence the Lambda on Spartan shields) and Sparta itself was simply the main city. Sparta had a unique form of government



Rise Of Sparta





Hoplite Heavyweights

- a dual monarchy with two royal houses (the Agiads and the Eurypontids), which reflects the idea of Sparta comprising the joining of two or more societies although if there were other rulers originally from other villages or tribes (of which there were three), we do not know what happened to them.

These two kings worked as a check and balance system on each other. The Agiads were technically senior, but they rotated their duties and one had to always stay in the city. Beneath the kings was an aristocracy (as in many other Greek cities) who made up an advisory council and filled various magistrate positions. Under this system (on which details are sketchy) Sparta conquered the lands of Laconia and the Eurotas river valley and then neighbouring Messenia in the west in the 8th century BCE. Other rival states existed in Arcadia to the north and the Argolid to the east. These Spartan conquests, especially of Messenia, created another characteristic feature of Spartan society - the threefold division of the Spartan citizen, the Helot slave population, and the citizens of other communities in Laconia, the Periochoi.

The Spartan citizen or Spartiate (also known as the Homoioi, 'equals') were the male citizens of the city of Sparta. Their one role became that of hoplite warrior. They spent their lives from boyhood to old age as heavy infantry fighters, living in barracks and training to fight. The rest of Spartan society was built to support this

system. Throughout the rest of Greece, hoplite armies consisted of citizens who performed other jobs but were part-time soldiers and who trained and fought after the harvest.

The unique, full-time, nature of the Spartan hoplites gave rise to their fearsome military reputation and their political dominance. The other communities of Laconia were not equal to Sparta but served it and provided the necessary goods and services in return for protection. In several conflicts Periochoi communities provided additional numbers of troops in Spartan armies. By far the most characteristic and unusual structure that supported the Spartan system was that of the Helot. When Messenia was conquered, the entire population was enslaved to become state slaves (the origins of word Helot itself is much debated and may perhaps relate to the root 'hel' meaning seizure or capture).

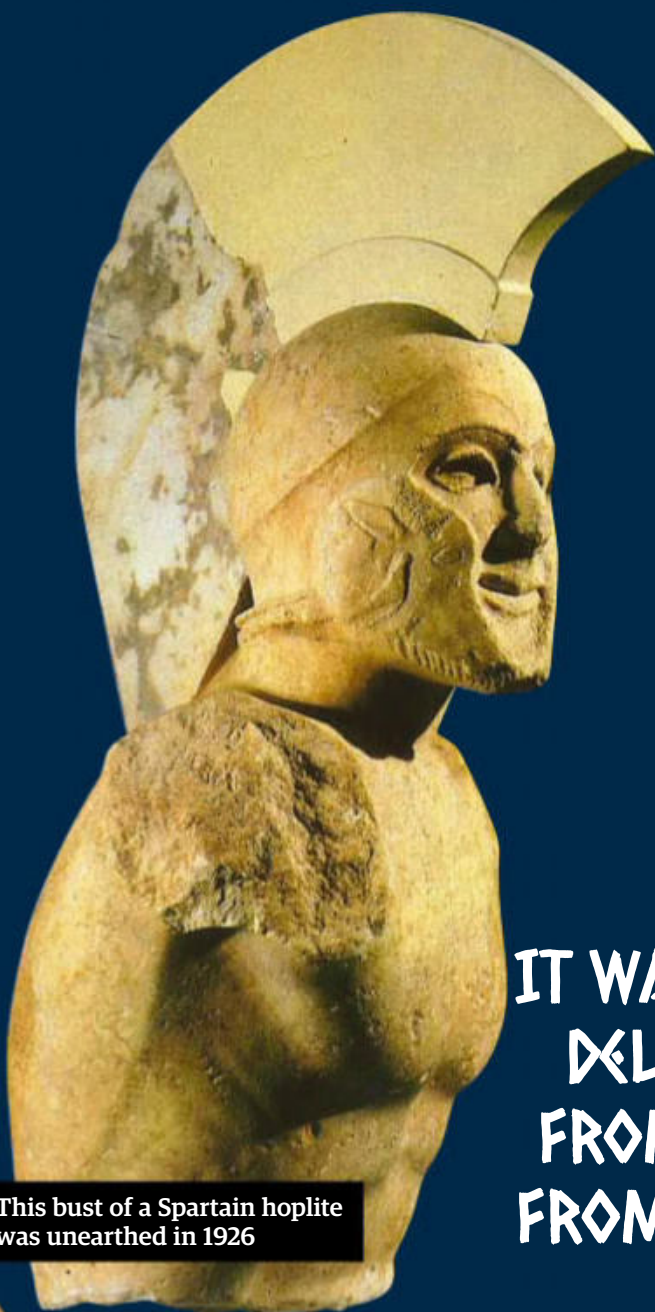
In the century following the conquest of Messenia (which concluded in 708 BCE according to some sources), the Sparta we know from our classical sources took shape. The man given credit for these reforms was the shadowy figure of Lycurgus. Shadowy because we know so little about him.

We have a life of Lycurgus written by Plutarch in the 2nd century CE, but he remains a figure about whom much is unknown. Suggested dates for Lycurgus range from 1100 to 600 BCE, the 7th century is most probable. Lycurgus was not a king but a lawgiver who reformed Spartan society, perhaps in response to the crises occurring in other Greek states at the time. These crises gave rise to the various tyrannies and other upheavals, which Sparta resisted.

Sparta was able to maintain political stability during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE and this stability added to her power and dominance throughout Greece. It was to Sparta that foreign delegations came such as from Croesus of Lydia and from Darius, King of Persia. They came to Sparta as the (natural) leader of the Greeks. Sparta was also the state other Greeks appealed to for assistance or arbitration in their disputes. Many aspects of Spartan society were probably already in place when the Lycurgan reforms took place, and so it is difficult to give credit for them to him alone. The dual kingship would be advised by a council (the Gerousia) of 28 elders and there would also be an assembly of all Spartan citizens to whom the council and kings would put proposals. The conservative nature



The historian Thucydides is our best and most reliable source for the war



This bust of a Spartan hoplite was unearthed in 1926

IT WAS TO SPARTA THAT FOREIGN DELEGATIONS CAME SUCH AS FROM CROESUS OF LYDIA AND FROM DARIUS, KING OF PERSIA

Jacques-Louis David's famous painting, *Leonidas At Thermopylae*, took 15 years to complete. It now hangs at the Louvre in Paris



A SOCIETY OF SLAVES

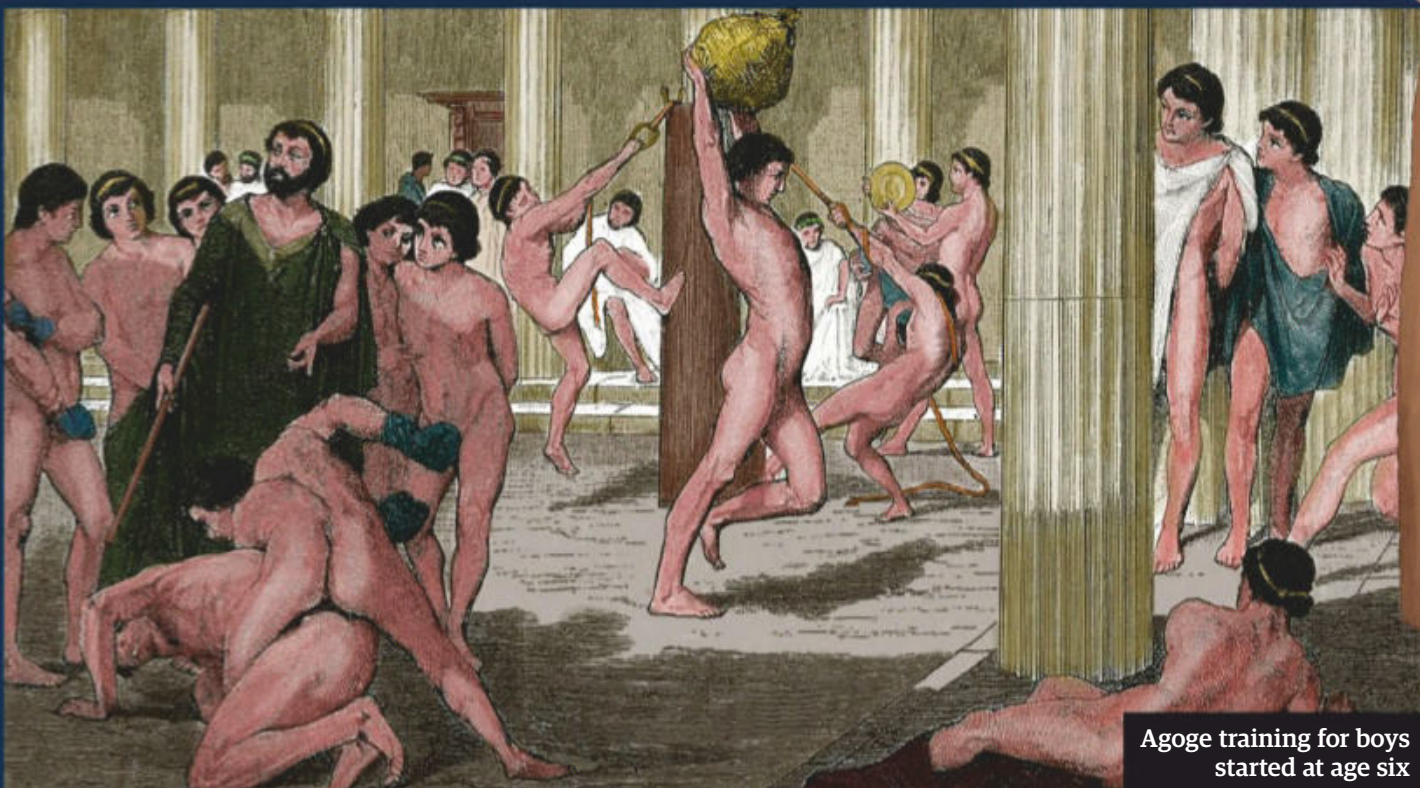
A closer look at the role and lives of the Helots

When Sparta conquered Messenia in a series of wars in the 8th century BCE, the entire population was enslaved becoming the Helots. The rest of the ancient world had slaves, but they were the property of individual masters. Helots, however, belonged to the Spartan state and were assigned to an individual by the state.

The master could not therefore treat a Helot as they liked. In this the Helots had certain rights. Their duties were to farm the land (the *kleros*) of their masters and to work in all aspects of life that the Spartans did not. As Spartans were full-time soldiers, this meant all other aspects of farm and land management.

Helots also had certain freedoms, could marry and have families and even work some land of their own (done when their duties to Sparta were finished for the day). They also did not have to form armies to defend their homes, Sparta did that for them.

Spartan men lived in group barracks and so Helots often ran Spartan farms for long periods without seeing their landlords. It was very rare that Helots were freed (children and families simply became more Helots). Nonetheless, Helots vastly outnumbered their Spartan overlords perhaps by as many as 20:1. Spartan society therefore became one in which fear of a Helot revolt was expected (one reason Sparta did not pursue an overseas empire was from a fear the Helots would throw off their yoke). Yet the Spartan system remained in place, virtually unchallenged, until the mid-4th century BCE.



Agoge training for boys started at age six





Hoplite Heavyweights

of Spartan life meant that often these decisions were along conservative lines (even to the detriment of Sparta and Greece).

Lycurgus is also credited with introducing the Spartan system of military training, the Agoge, for which the state became renowned. The Spartan Agoge was by far the most famous but other Dorian states, such as Crete, also had them. Boys were taken from their homes at the age of six and raised together. They were taught reading and writing, music and dance.

At the age of 20 they became eligible to fight and served in the army (although they were not considered a full citizen until the age of 30, at which age they joined the Assembly). We are not sure if they joined a barracks at the age of 20 or 30, but thereafter that became the focus of a Spartan man's life until the age of 60.

By concentrating the resources of their state on the creation and maintenance of a permanent army of hoplites, Sparta made itself the leader of Greece. All Greek city states had adopted hoplite warfare but they were amateurs. The manpower resources Sparta could draw on meant at its height, in the late 6th and early 5th century BCE, there were some 9,000 Spartiates to call upon.

Few other cities could call on such numbers, let alone men trained to the degree Sparta's were. A challenge to the Spartan domination of Greece would come in the shape of the Persian Wars of the early 5th century BCE.



The Peloponnesian War pitted Greek against Greek, hoplite against hoplite and trireme against trireme

The seeds for a catastrophic conflict between the two great rivals Sparta and Athens were sown by the successes of the Greek states in defeating the Persian invasion of Xerxes I in 480/479 BCE. The defeat of Persia had been led by Sparta, the traditional leader of Greece, but it had also been lead by a new contender for Greek leadership, Athens.

Athens had not only assisted the Ionian states against Persia and defeated a Persian army

almost single-handed at the battle of Marathon in 490, but it had also contributed the most powerful Greek navy at the battle of Salamis in 480. That victory broke the will of the Persian invasion force, and Athens received (and took) a great deal of the credit. It would take 50 years for the two states to break into open and prolonged conflict but when they did they would drag every Greek state in on one side or the other.

GREECE DEFEATS PERSIA

This famous conflict was far more complex than just the 300

The Persian Wars were a series of conflicts in which Greece came into conflict with the mighty empire of Persia (which spread from Anatolia to India and from the Caucasus to Egypt). In 495 BCE the Ionian Greek states of the Anatolian coast revolted against Persian rule. Their appeals to Sparta for help had been refused earlier, being as they were far away from Sparta, and sea-based. They turned instead to Athens who, with Eretria, helped.

The Persians eventually defeated the revolt and in 490 king Darius sent a punitive expedition to Greece to punish Eretria and Athens. Eretria was burned, and Athens appealed to Sparta for help. The Spartans were prevented from coming to Athens' aid by a religious festival and, forced to action, Athens was able to defeat the Persians alone at the battle of Marathon. Darius' successor, Xerxes, sent a much larger expedition to Greece in 480. According to Herodotus it numbered five million men. The pretext of the expedition was to punish Athens, but many Greek states rightly saw the invasion's purpose as the subjugation of all of Greece. The Greeks looked to Sparta for leadership.

In 480, once again hamstrung by conservative religious scruples, only King Leonidas, his personal guard and few thousand Greeks, could defend the pass at Thermopylae, fighting to the last man. The sacrifice of Leonidas spurred the Spartans into action and, manoeuvred politically by the Athenian leader, Themistocles, the Spartans led the Greeks to victory at the naval battle of Salamis and then at the greatest land battle of the age, Plataea in 479, thwarting Persian designs on Greece.



THE FEW SPARTAN HOPLITES AT THERMOPYLAE SHOWED THEIR SUPERIORITY, MAN-ON-MAN

Athens had also provided canny political leadership during the Persian Wars, which ensured that Sparta did actually fight in defence of Greece. The few Spartan hoplites at Thermopylae showed their superiority, man-on-man, against the Persians despite being vastly outnumbered. At Artemisium too, Greek seamanship was shown to be the equal of the navy of Persia. At the naval battle of Salamis in 480 and then the massive land battle of Plataea in 479, the combined forces of the Greeks decisively defeated the more numerous Persians. These successes on sea and land created and fostered a self confidence in the Greek states, but especially in Athens and Sparta, and this confidence led to an inevitable power struggle between the two cities.

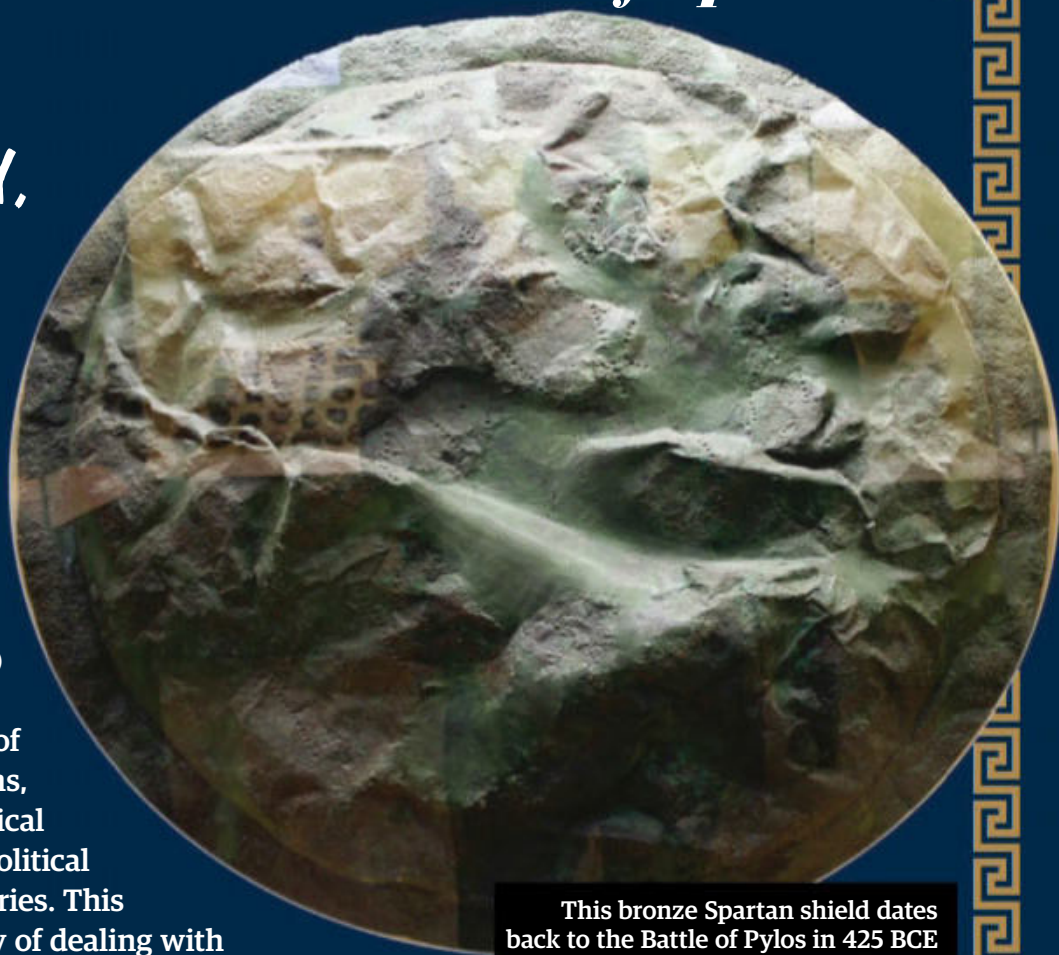
Many Greek states continued to recognise that Sparta was the natural leader of the Greeks on land. At the same time, however, Athens was recognised more and more as the dominant sea power - it had furnished the most ships to the cause and continued to have the most powerful navy in Greece. Other states, like Corinth, another naval power, allied themselves with Sparta out of a fear of Athenian ambition.

Athens and Sparta were, as we have heard, cities of great contrasts. Athens was, in some ways, a progressive city full of new ideas and new wealth, full of foreigners and foreign ideas. In other ways (such as its cloistering of women and unbending definition of citizens) Athens was conservative and old-fashioned. The most radical of the new ideas prevalent at Athens, however, was democracy, a political system that evolved out of the political turmoil of the 7th and 6th centuries. This political system was Athens' way of dealing with those citizens who had gained wealth and power with the rise of hoplite warfare and increased maritime trade. These were the same upheavals that led to the final form of the Spartan state.

Democracy reached its final form in the late 6th century and the successes (and sacrifices) of Athens in staving off the Persian invasions led to a confidence, not only in itself but in democracy too. The first time Athens had defeated the Persians at Marathon in 490 BCE, the Persian invasion had been, in part, an attempt to reinstall (a pro-Persian) tyranny

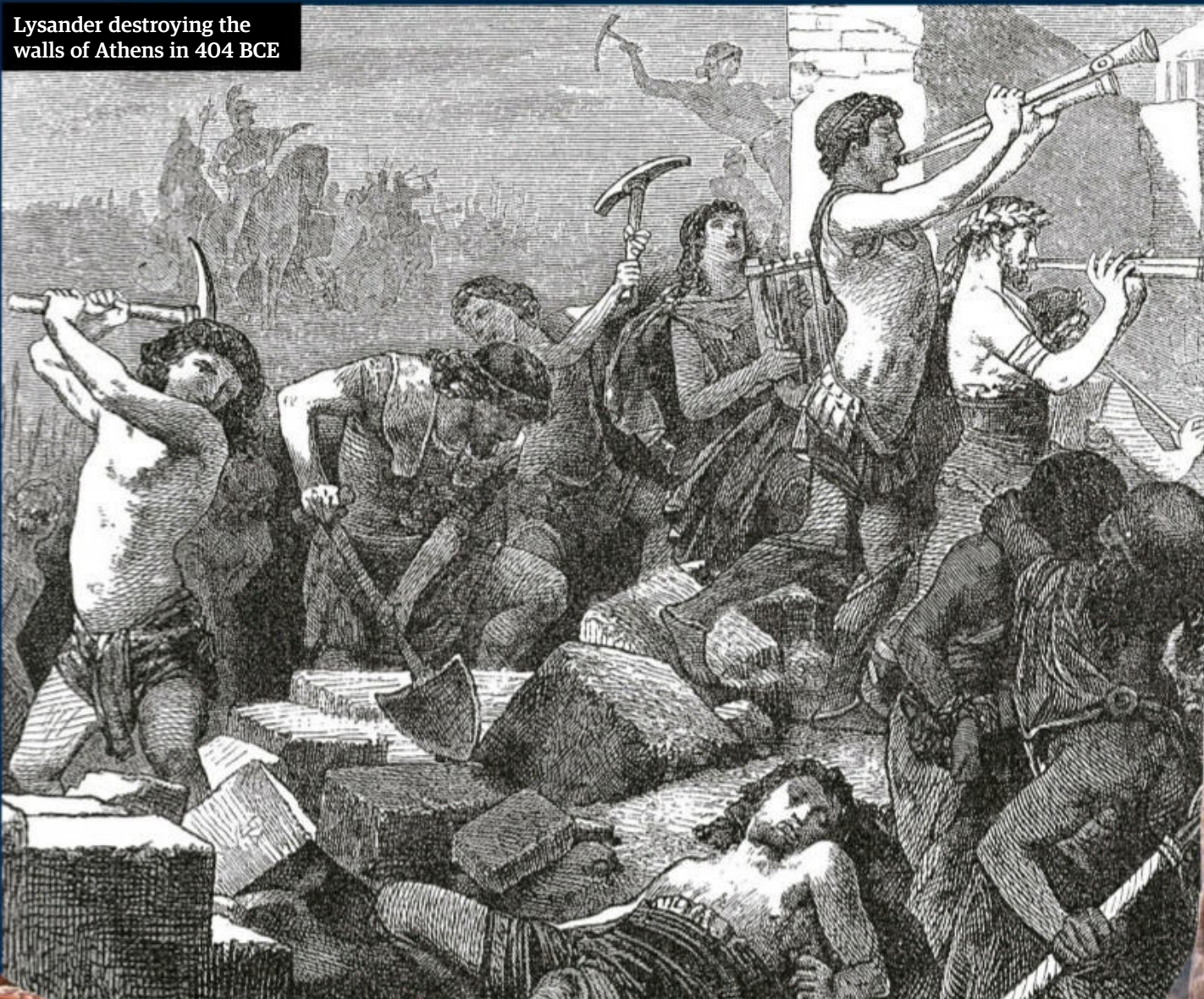
in Athens. Athens, like Sparta, was a city that had a relatively large area of land (Attica) that it served, and this made it larger than many other Greek cities. Sparta and Athens could field armies of 9,000 hoplites (although Sparta's were professional, Athens' part-timers). Athens' wealth and prowess continued to thrive after the victory at Marathon and, by 480, it rivalled Sparta through her powerful navy.

Following the successes of the Persian wars, Sparta continued to dominate land-based



This bronze Spartan shield dates back to the Battle of Pylos in 425 BCE

Lysander destroying the walls of Athens in 404 BCE



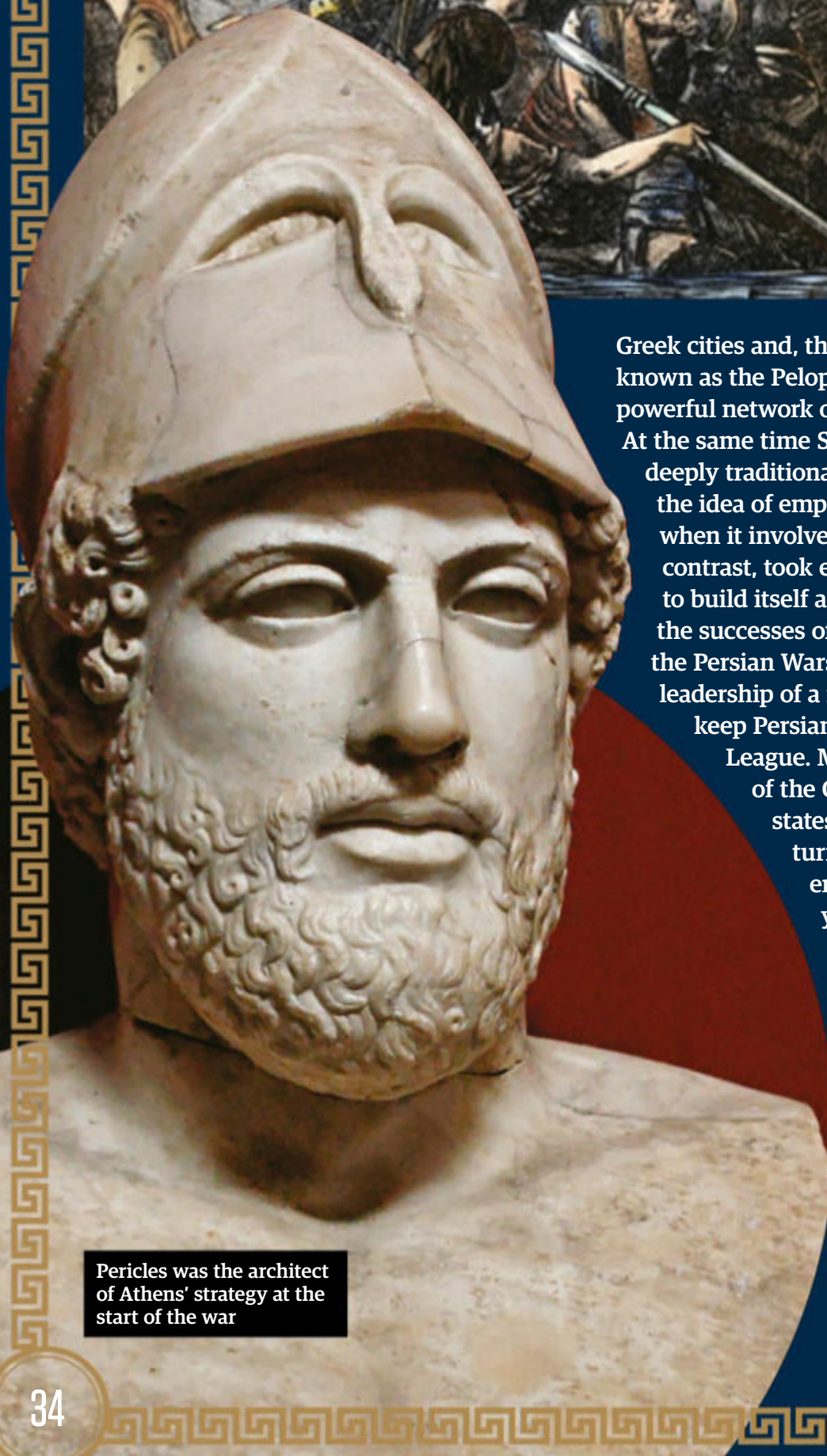
Funerary stele of two Athenian hoplites (Chairedemos and Lykeas) who died during the war



Hoplite Heavyweights



An Athenian expedition to Sicily ended in massive defeat in 413 BCE



Pericles was the architect of Athens' strategy at the start of the war

Greek cities and, through an alliance of cities known as the Peloponnesian League, it built a powerful network of allies throughout Greece. At the same time Sparta, as a conservative and deeply traditional culture, did not embrace the idea of empire building especially not when it involved states overseas. Athens by contrast, took every opportunity available to build itself a sea-based empire. Following the successes of Greek naval forces during the Persian Wars, Athens naturally took the leadership of a naval alliance intended to keep Persian influence at bay, the Delian League. Membership included many of the Greek islands and coastal city states. Athens then systematically turned this league into an empire of her own and the 50 years following the Persian wars (literally the '50 year period' - the pentecontaetia) saw Athens and Sparta come into inevitable conflict as their allies, spheres of influence, and even the contrasting cultures and ideas of the two cities, butted against one another.

We have several sources for the Peloponnesian War. The most important of

these are Thucydides, an Athenian aristocratic general who wrote a history of the war 431-410 and an author who is regarded as the first 'scientific' historian, and Xenophon who wrote a continuation of Thucydides' work (the Hellenica) covering the end of the war (and continuing down to 362 BCE). Even though Xenophon was an Athenian, he was an admirer of Sparta and so the perspective of these two works is markedly different. Thucydides prided himself on his neutrality and even handedness and is still regraded today as one of the best examples of ancient history writing.

We have other sources too, from other surviving historians like Diodorus Siculus, and other literature such as the plays of Aristophanes and the dialogues of Plato. Many of these sources must be used with great care to discover what happened during the war.

The first steps towards this inevitable conflict came when Athens' dominance of the Delian League caused the Spartans to become alarmed at the growth of Athenian power. Athens built a series of walls between the city and its harbour at the Piraeus and these walls protected both city and harbour from attack. They looked like a preparation for war. An intermittent series of conflicts broke out between 460 and 445 (and which we know as the First Peloponnesian War) but they ended with a Thirty Year Peace in 445

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

How the conflict between Sparta and Athens played out

1 Athens, Sparta and their allies

By the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE, most Greek states were allied with either Sparta or Athens. Athens, understandably, controlled the islands and most cities who relied on maritime trade although several (such as Corinth and Megara) sided with Sparta to remain independent. Sparta's allies were mostly land based.

2 War breaks out

A series of relatively small disputes such as at Corcyra, Potidaea, Megara and at Plataea in 433/2 BCE pushed Athens and Sparta into war. Tensions and suspicions were already heightened between the two powers and both sides felt they could prevail in the inevitable war to come.

3 Opening moves

At the start of the war, Sparta invaded Attica and destroyed crops and farms, intending to provoke a land battle. The Athenians emptied the countryside and withdrew into the area of the long walls between the city and the Piraeus.

4 Fortunes of war

The death of Pericles was a blow to Athens. Mytilene then revolted but in 425 she was fortunate to trap some Spartan hoplites on the island of Sphacteria, which led to a peace treaty in 424. Athens squandered that peace and was defeated at Delium.

5 Amphipolis

The Spartan general Brasidas took the Athenian colony of Amphipolis in the north and an expedition was launched from Athens to get it back. The aggressive Brasidas and Cleon the Athenian both died at Amphipolis and this allowed a peace to be concluded that was meant to last 50 years.

7 Fortunes of war II

The Spartans invaded Attica again in 413 and fortified the town of Decelea, visible from Athens' walls. The war shifted focus to the Aegean Sea. Athens' allies began to abandon her but she fought on.

6 The Sicilian Expedition

In 415 Athens launched a huge (and unnecessary) expedition to Sicily. It met with disastrous defeat in 413 and Athens lost 200 ships and 5,000 men. Her allies lost 50,000 men. The damage to Athens' reputation was far worse.

KEY

● Athenian Empire and Allies
● Spartan Confederacy

SCHOLARS ARE STILL DIVIDED REGARDING WHICH CITY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR

where Athens and Sparta agreed to recognise each other's spheres of influence and also agreed to guarantee any other state's right to join either side or to remain neutral. Spheres of influence and a right to neutrality are important ideas for how war broke out between Athens and Sparta in 431. Scholars are still divided regarding which city was responsible for the war. The city of Corinth was an ally of Sparta but several of her colonies were dominated by Athens in the 430s (Corcyra at her own request and Potidaea forcibly). Corinth understandably agitated for Spartan intervention against such Athenian activities. In 432, the city of Megara (a Spartan ally) was forbidden by Athens from trading with Athens or her allies. Another Spartan ally, Thebes, then attacked the city of Plataea, one of Athens' allies. Sparta and its allies decided that

Athens had broken the peace and in 431, the Peloponnesian War began when Spartan forces invaded Athens' home territory of Attica, and ravaged the land, destroying crops and farms.

The political leader in Athens at the time, Pericles, had foreseen that destroying crops would be the Spartan tactic and, rather than face the Spartans on land, where Athens would more than likely lose, he had suggested a policy of withdrawing the population of Attica into the safety of the walls she had built. Athens would survive on maritime trade, and avoiding fighting the Spartans in the land battles they were trying to provoke. The intention was to launch naval raids into Peloponnesian territory from the safety of their walled harbour and the Athenians

followed this tactic for the first years of the war despite the unpopularity of allowing their crops and homes to be destroyed. Pericles survived a challenge to his power and the policy continued.

The Spartan invasions were an annual event but were only temporary and Spartan forces returned home after they had destroyed some Athenian crops and farms. It is difficult to assess how much damage such invasions did but they cannot have destroyed all the Athenian harvest or reached every corner of Attica each year. It must have also been frustrating for the Spartans that their mighty army was reduced to burning crops and homes and was unable to entice the Athenians to face them in a land battle.

Behind the walls at Athens, however, with the population of the countryside sheltering and crammed into a small space, plague broke out in 430 and in the years thereafter. Disastrously for Athens, Pericles himself died of the plague in 429. He seems to have been the only Athenian politician with the vision to foresee that his



Hoplite Heavyweights

strategy would continue to succeed against the Spartans. After his death, Athens was beset with another kind of plague - demagogues who took advantage of democracy's liberties and who stirred the Athenian voters into a frenzy to vote in favour of their proposals. Such demagogues sought only political power and had no clear policy for winning the war. They became more and more prominent in Athenian politics as the war progressed. Two parties dominated Athens - those led by Nicias (who favoured defence) and Cleon (who favoured aggression).

In 428, one of Athens' most powerful allies, Mytilene, revolted from her dominance. This led to a fear that more states would follow suit and so Athens (arrogantly) voted to kill the entire male population of the city of Mytilene and enslave the women and children. In a sign of the political indecision of Athens, this was overturned in a vote the following day and eventually only the leaders of the rebellion were put to death.

In 425/4 one of the Athenian raids on Peloponnesian territory was able to surround a force of Spartan hoplites on the island of Sphacteria. This was an unexpected and spectacular success for the Athenians as the Spartans surrendered and sued for peace. The manpower of even a few Spartiates was precious to Sparta (they took a lifetime to raise and could not be replaced). Athens immediately squandered the peace by looking to continue an aggressive policy and were decisively beaten themselves by the Spartan ally, Thebes, at the battle of Delium later in 424. A spartan general, Brasidas, was also able to capture the Athenian colony of Amphipolis in the north.

ONCE AGAIN ATHENS SQUANDERED THE PEACE SHE HAD ACHIEVED

In the attempt to recapture Amphipolis in 422, the Athenian general Cleon was killed. Brasidas also fell. This allowed another peace to be concluded (Athens would regain Amphipolis and Sparta would have the Spartan prisoners from Sphacteria returned to her). This was the Peace of Nicias, intended to last 50 years.

Once again Athens squandered the peace she had achieved, this time with an ambitious, aggressive and unnecessary plan to attack Sicily and bring it into the Athenian empire. The Sicilian expedition of 415 ended in utter disaster in 413 and the entire Athenian force was destroyed. Athens lost close to 200 ships and almost 5,000 men (there were probably 50,000 allied forces who also perished). The loss in Sicily damaged Athens' reputation and its ability to control the empire.

From every corner allies revolted and Athens was thrown into political turmoil. The democracy was briefly overthrown in 411 by an oligarchy but, in a sign of the tremendous resilience of Athens, it fought on, rebuilt its army and navy, and even won several victories such as at Arginusae in 406 BCE. In 413, the Spartans captured the town of Decelea, only a short distance from Athens and there they stayed, garrisoning the town. This outpost allowed them to prevent the Athenians leaving their city, and to launch raids into Attica, holding them in place for the time being.

The setbacks suffered by Athens in the Sicilian Expedition and after had two main ramifications. Firstly, the war shifted into the Aegean Sea and, as Athens' allies deserted her, Athens' navy (and financial resources) shrank. This allowed Sparta and her allies to build up their own naval resources and vie with Athens on a more even footing. The second ramification was that Persia, defeated 50 years earlier in the Greco-Persian Wars and kept out of the Aegean Sea by the growth and power of the Delian League, now saw the opportunity to once again wield power and influence in the region. Persia provided support and ships for the Athenian allies who broke away from her and, when approached by the Spartan general Lysander, Persia provided money for a Spartan fleet.

In 405 the Athenian fleet was caught off guard and destroyed at Aegospotamai and Athens no longer had the financial resources to build another fleet. That victory also allowed Sparta to cut off Athens' supply of grain and essentially starve Athens into submission.

Still Athens tried to fight on but in 404 she surrendered unconditionally. Her walls were torn down, a Spartan garrison was installed, and Athens' democracy was replaced with a government of Thirty Tyrants who were pro-Spartan. The Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War was the high-tide mark of her power and dominance of Greece, one she would hold on to with fierce determination for the next 30 years.

Defeat at the Battle of Aegospotami spelt the end for Athens



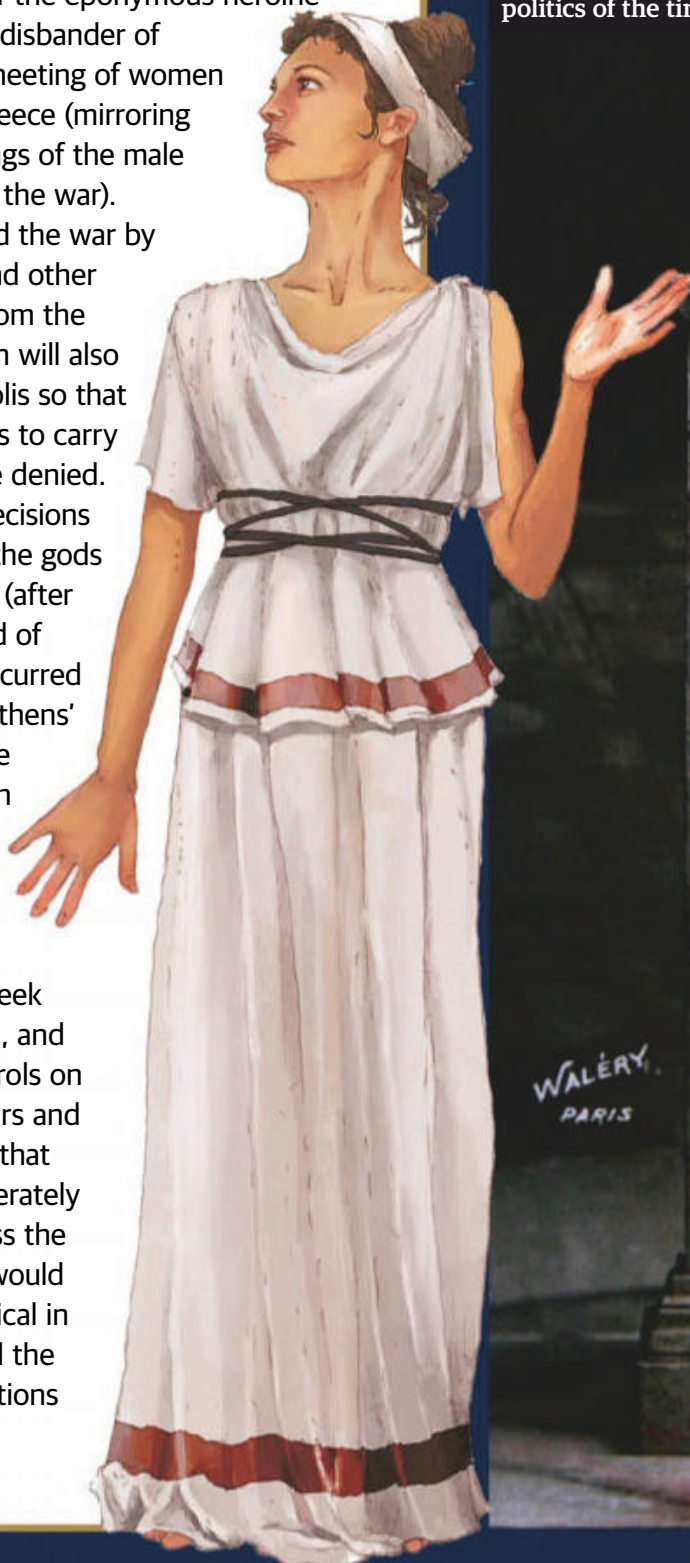


COMEDY TO END THE WAR

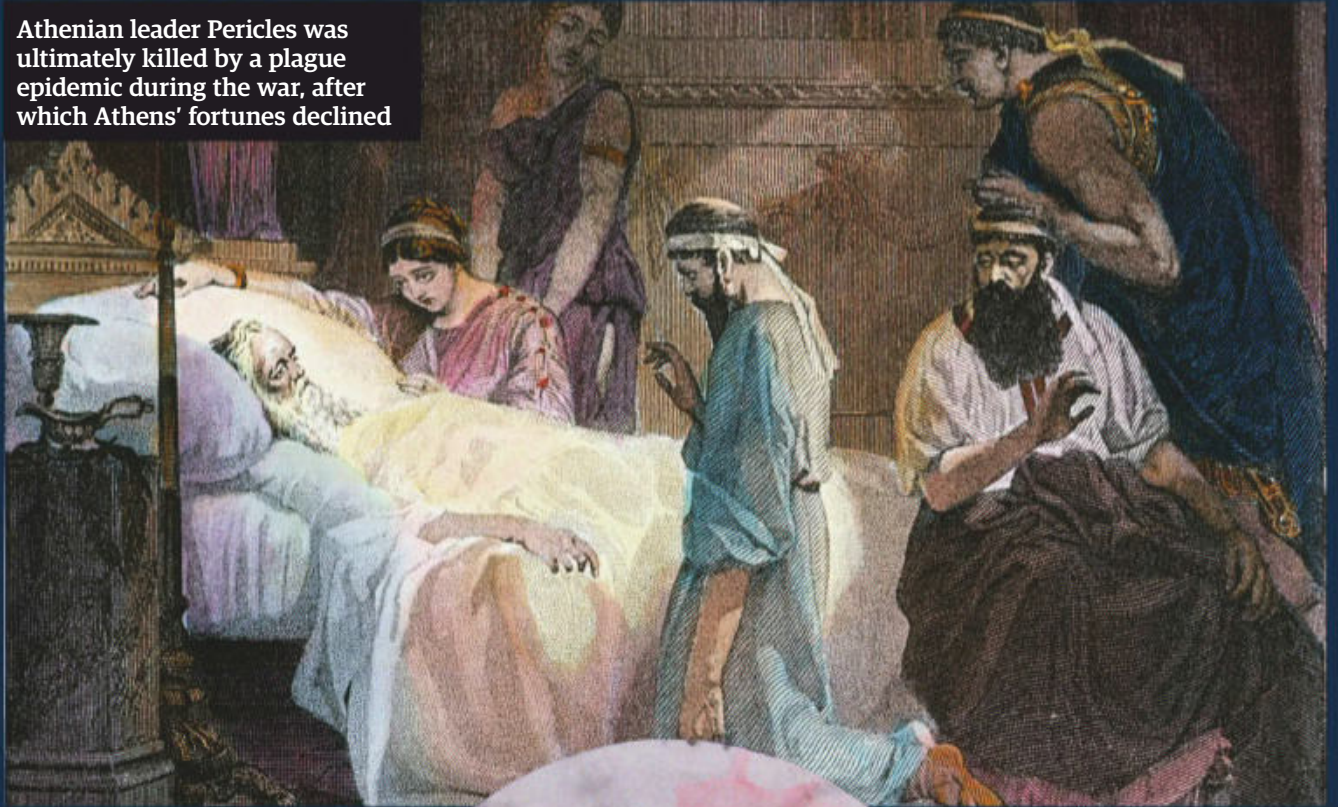
Did a play really convince Athens to concede defeat?

Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata* was produced (probably at the Lenaia Festival) in February 411 BCE and reveals several remarkable things. Firstly it shows that Athenian cultural life continued during the war. Comedy, tragedy and (as the dialogues of Plato and Xenophon show) philosophy continued and even thrived in Athens during the war. At the same time, the nature of Athens' democracy was such that Aristophanes (and others) could offer criticisms of the conduct of the war, and Athens' political leadership (Peisander in this case), in an astonishing way.

Lysistrata tells of the eponymous heroine (her name means 'disbander of armies') calling a meeting of women from all around Greece (mirroring the various meetings of the male politicians running the war). They decide to end the war by withholding sex and other domestic duties from the men. Older women will also occupy the Acropolis so that access to the funds to carry out the war will be denied. In the play their decisions are supported by the gods and are successful (after a very short period of time!). The play occurred at a low-point in Athens' fortunes during the war and calls for an end to the war in such a forum are surprising. At the same time all the actors in Greek comedy were men, and Athens' strict controls on women's behaviours and movement meant that the play was deliberately unreal. Nonetheless the idea of a heroine would still have been radical in Greek comedy and the play shows innovations in Aristophanes' development.



Athenian leader Pericles was ultimately killed by a plague epidemic during the war, after which Athens' fortunes declined



Productions of *Lysistrata* have continued through the centuries, often taking on additional meaning and resonance with the politics of the time

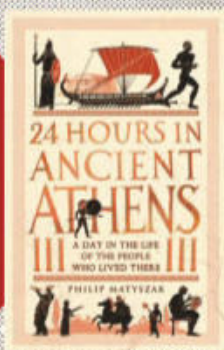




Warring City States

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The Battle of Tanagra is a rare example of Athens and Sparta facing each other in battle, with their allies and protectorates fighting each other far more often in an ongoing proxy war between the powers. This particular battle predates the Peloponnesian War by 26 years



PHILIP MATYSZAK ON THE REAL SPARTA

Author of books on Sparta and Athens breaks down some of the myths and misunderstandings about the two ancient civilisations

Interview by Jonathan Gordon



In your book, Sparta: Rise Of A Warrior Nation, you describe Sparta as "remarkably unremarkable". Could you tell us what made it so different as a city from other major centres of population at the time?

My comment refers to early Sparta before 700 BCE. At this time most contemporaries would not have ranked Sparta as one of the great cities of Greece. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Archaic Sparta was that the 'city' consisted of four villages alongside the River Eurotas. Unlike most Greek cities, Sparta was unwallled, though in another sense geography provided all the barriers the Spartans needed - and then some. The only other oddity was that the early Spartans had imposed a state called 'helotage' - somewhere between serfdom and slavery - on some conquered peoples from nearby towns. Nevertheless all Greek cities had their idiosyncrasies, and early Sparta would have been unusual if it had none. So overall, Sparta in the early Archaic era was an average Greek city.

How important was the geography and topography around Sparta to its way of life?

Geography made Sparta what it was. Most Greek

cities were traders, open to the world and new ideas. Sparta was halfway up a near-inaccessible river valley with mountains all around. Access by sea involved getting around the ship-killing capes at the bottom of the Peloponnese, and land access was minimal in winter. So Sparta was fated to be an agricultural economy with a rural outlook.

What would you say were the advantages and disadvantages of Sparta having a dual monarchy system of two hereditary kings?

When your king is also a war leader in a warrior state, having a spare king on hand is almost essential. Generally one Spartan king stayed at home while the other was on campaign. Also, while succession struggles got messy in late Sparta, the fact that one king was one of several checks on the other prevented matters from getting out of hand. On the whole Spartan kings seem to have worked well together, giving the state the advantages of a monarchy without many of the drawbacks.

Do we have much evidence of whether or not this was a relatively smooth or effective form of government for Sparta?

The kings were only part of the Spartan government. Perhaps most important was a



Warring City States

Spartan boys had to go through the agoge program from the age of six to begin their training for military and civic service. The educational program was both about physical prowess and social preparedness, involving hunting, public speaking and dancing, among other skills

“PEACE’ IN CLASSICAL GREECE WAS COLD WAR BY DEFINITION”

‘senate’ called the Gerousia, which interpreted the (conveniently unwritten) laws. The Gerousia could impeach a king and frequently did. The Spartan government machine did work relatively smoothly – the key word being ‘relatively’. Sparta tried hard to hide reports of political ructions within its ‘ideal state’ – nevertheless, stories of corruption, nepotism and brutal power-struggles sometimes escaped.

To this day Sparta has a reputation for being a society built around its military. Is it fair to say that this was always the primary concern of the Spartan people?

True, to the same extent as saying a singer’s career is built around their voice. Sparta was a militarised state to an almost pathological degree.

For just one example, I can’t imagine any other society where a married woman was encouraged to take lovers if they would breed better warriors than her husband could. During the classical era, the Spartans were the only Greek state with a large professional warrior class, and they were trained to the job from childhood.

It also has a reputation for being relatively conservative and slow to action or innovation. Is that a fair judgement?

This was not the case with early Sparta, which performed some remarkably innovative social engineering to create the state that it became. Yet by the classical era Sparta had a fetishistic belief that their society was as perfect as it could get. This made the Spartans resist essential changes – and their hidebound attitude to reform was a major

cause in Sparta’s eventual downfall. Militarily, Sparta was always slow to act, because the Spartan army was needed at home in case of the Helot uprising that the state constantly dreaded – with justification.

How much of what we understand about Sparta is derived from the records of its neighbours and how much from Sparta itself?

Apart from subjugated Messenia, Sparta did not really have neighbours. It’s that geographical isolation thing. Basically, most of what we have on Sparta comes from the Athenians. But that is also true of Argos, Corinth and any other Greek city except Thebes (which had the later writer Plutarch living nearby). However, some Athenian writers such as Xenophon and Plato were very pro-Sparta, while others such as Aristotle were frankly contemptuous. So we do get a reasonably balanced picture. What records the Spartans had they kept to themselves. The Spartans were famously people of few words. (‘Laconic’ refers to Lacedaemonia – the land of the Spartans.)

In your book on Sparta you compared Laconia to the USSR and Attica to the USA, in terms of how outside observers might have interpreted the influence of Sparta and Athens on each. To extend the analogy, would the concept of a cold war between these two also apply?

All analogies are flawed, and dragging one across two and a half millennia damages it even further.

King Leonidas I, thanks in part to his sacrifice against the invading Persian forces, remains a powerful figure in Ancient Greek history, popularised in pop culture and often cited through history as an example of a native force making a valiant stand against a foreign power



Certainly there was a cold war between Athens and Sparta, because Greek cities were constantly struggling for power over each other. 'Peace' in classical Greece was cold war by definition. It was considered an intermission between hot wars. However, as realpolitik demanded, Sparta and Athens might - for example - together gang up on the Thebans. If you want a real feud though, look at Sparta and Argos. Generally speaking, all Greek city-states were constantly in a condition analogous to a cold war with each other.

To your mind was a conflict between Athens and Sparta always inevitable given their political and societal differences?

As an optimist, I believe conflict is never inevitable. Sparta and Athens had no major conflicts of interest that would force a war. Athens was a sea-based trading empire. Sparta was land-locked, rural, had no interest in empire, and made a mess of it when Spartans tried to run other people's affairs. Yet I must concede conflict would happen, simply because shifting alliances meant that all Greek states fought each other at some point. (It is hard not to when battle is almost a rite of passage for your young men.)

However, neither the Spartans nor the Athenians tried to force their society and politics on the other. In their view, if you had a system that worked, you kept it to yourself because it gave you the advantage. If anything, you tried to convince the other city to try something different (and hopefully worse) than what you were doing.

Was the Athenian way of life substantially different from that of a subject of Sparta?

Which 'subject'? Sparta was a very stratified society. There were Spartiates at the top, then mothakes, perioiki, helots and slaves. The aristocrats in both societies had much in common, but elite Athenians found the Spartan outlook frankly nuts.

They admired the Spartiates but had no desire to imitate them. Sparta had nothing resembling the lively mercantile class of Athens, and we must remember that both societies were 90 per cent agricultural. For the majority of people, life consisted of getting up at dawn and wresting a living from uncooperative soil, and spending free time in the rituals of one's village - whether the system of government was Athenian or Spartan. However, because the Spartans oppressed their agricultural population, the difference was that Spartan governance deliberately added a stratum of terror that was absent from life elsewhere.

You have a new book focused on Athens coming out later this year. What can you tell us about it?

This book is set just before Athens plunged into the final, disastrous phase of the Peloponnesian War. I take one day in the life of the city, and show Athens from 24 different perspectives. We spend

each hour of the day with a different Athenian. The focus is on ordinary people - a fish seller, a slave, a tavern-owner - yet many of these people come into contact with extraordinary Athenians as they go about their regular lives.

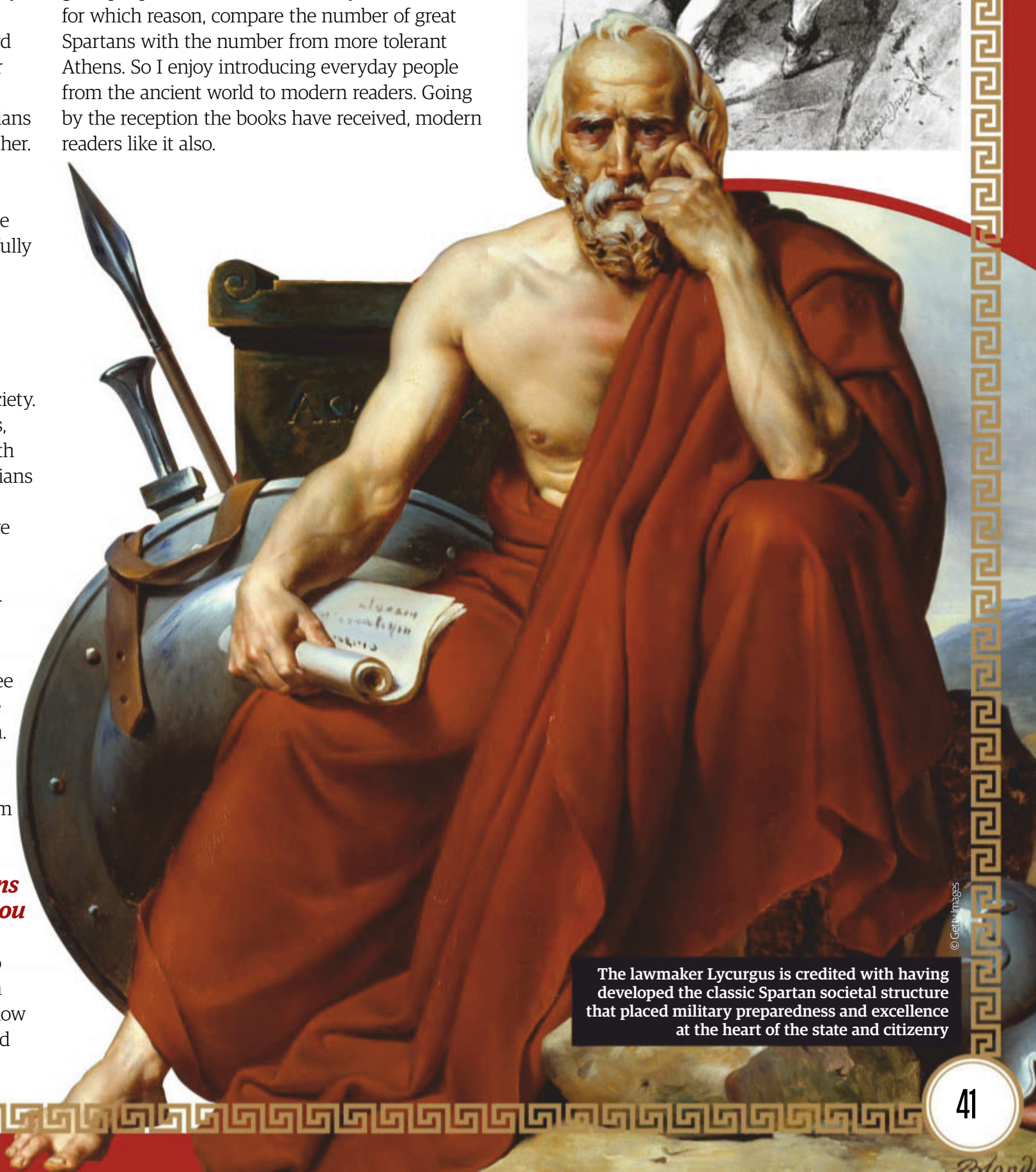
So, for instance, we get a sneak peek at Socrates belly-dancing at a dinner party, and the young Plato preparing to beat up an opponent at wrestling. Entire chapters I did not write, but merely edited and reinterpreted what Athenian writers have said for themselves. Xenophon should sue.

You wrote a similarly structured book on a day in the life of Ancient Rome. Is there something about this format you particularly enjoy?

You don't get 'great people' without a society that supports and generates them. In my opinion historians spend too much time looking at important individuals and not at why their society didn't drown them at birth or soon after.

Few societies encourage nonconformists, and great people are nonconformists by definition - for which reason, compare the number of great Spartans with the number from more tolerant Athens. So I enjoy introducing everyday people from the ancient world to modern readers. Going by the reception the books have received, modern readers like it also.

The Battle of Thermopylae remains one of the most famous feats of Sparta as King Leonidas' lead a small force to stand against Xerxes's Persian forces



The lawmaker Lycurgus is credited with having developed the classic Spartan societal structure that placed military preparedness and excellence at the heart of the state and citizenry

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GREAT CIVIL RIGHTS HEROES

Ten of the incredible men and women who helped to organise and shape the fight for racial equality in the USA in the age of Jim Crow, segregation and beyond

Written by Jonathan Gordon



The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s still resonates with us today, giving us some of the most inspirational figures of the 20th century in the face of some of its most egregious injustices.

There were many hundreds and thousands of people who played a part in achieving major legislative and legal victories in those years, but we've attempted to chronicle the impact of some of the most important. Some were great leaders and speakers, others great organisers and community activists, more still great thinkers and writers, but they all played a part.

In an era when the fight for racial equality and justice in the face of institutional discrimination remains at the forefront of political debate, the heroic efforts of these individuals are an inspiration. And to get further insight into their contribution, we asked University of Virginia professor Kevin K Gaines to offer his thoughts and insights on the role these figures played as an expert on civil rights and social justice.

EXPERT BIO

KEVIN K GAINES

Julian Bond professor of civil rights and social justice, University of Virginia



Professor Gaines is the author of *Uplifting The Race: Black Leadership, Politics, And Culture During The Twentieth Century* (University of North Carolina Press, 1996) and *American Africans In Ghana: Black Expatriates And The Civil Rights Era* (UNC Press, 2006). His current research is focusing on the challenges of racial integration during and after the civil rights movement and the projects of activists, artists and intellectuals to redefine the black experience in America and highlight structural and ideological forms of racism, patriarchy and homophobia.



ELLA BAKER

Just how important would you say Baker was to the civil rights movement?

KG: Ella Baker represents two major advances in the study of the civil rights movement: the recognition of the indispensable role of African American women in the movement, and a "bottom up" emphasis on grass-roots organising, as opposed to a prior "top down" emphasis on charismatic leadership. Baker's decades-long career as a civil rights activist began when she left her North Carolina home for the politics of Harlem during the 1930s.

A gifted organiser, Baker has been called the 'Mother of the Movement' for her tireless and dangerous work during and after World War II. Her efforts away from the limelight are credited with providing a key foundation for the modern civil rights movement in the south.

As executive director of the SCLC, Baker clashed with that organisation's male-dominated leadership, including Martin Luther King. When African American college students launched the sit-in movement throughout the south in 1960, desegregating lunch-counters by using the nonviolent tactic of sitting down and remaining there with the intention of being



13 December 1903 – 13 December 1986

The great names of the civil rights movement wouldn't have been able to achieve much without Ella Baker. She was national director of the Young Negroes Cooperative League, became a field secretary and later a branch director of the NAACP, and co-founded the In Friendship group to raise money for the bus boycott effort. She then moved to Atlanta to help set up King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, leaving in 1960 to help found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. She was given the nickname 'Fundii', which is a Swahili term for someone who teaches the next generation a craft.

served, Baker advised the student activists to form their own organisation. Baker was thus instrumental in the founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), serving as an advisor for the organisation. As detailed in historian Barbara Ransby's definitive biography, Baker influenced SNCC's young organisers to implement her radical democratic vision of group-centred leadership, which held that the most disadvantaged members of society were capable of leading themselves. Today, Black Lives Matter activists cite Ella Baker as a key influence and inspiration.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin was involved in organising many protests, but was his biggest contribution the March on Washington?

KG: Bayard Rustin was a prominent organiser before and during the civil rights movement. He started out as a peace activist, and had participated in the first sit-in protests, in which an interracial group of activists in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) desegregated "whites-only" restaurants in northern cities during the late 1940s. Rustin was a charismatic speaker who garnered a reputation in the African American press touring college campuses promoting his vision of nonviolent direct action as a vehicle for confronting racism and segregation.



Rustin was fearless in confronting violent segregationists. He was also a black gay man, his sexuality largely unknown to the public until his arrest in California in 1953 for violating the state law criminalising homosexuality. During that deeply homophobic era, Rustin's arrest made him, to some, a liability for the movement, even as he remained a formidable civil rights advocate.

When Martin Luther King became leader of the Montgomery movement in 1955, it was Rustin who instructed the young minister on the philosophy of nonviolence, and served, off and on, within King's circle of advisors. When A Philip Randolph, the venerable labour and civil rights leader, tapped Rustin to return to the spotlight, so to speak, as the leading organiser of the March on Washington in 1963, pro-segregation US officials, including Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, made public reference to Rustin's sexuality to discredit the march. Martin Luther King and the civil rights establishment staunchly defended Rustin, and the march's success led to the eventual passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Rustin's story is beautifully told in the documentary, *Brother Outsider*, which highlights tensions within the movement and US society provoked by Rustin's sexuality.



17 March 1912 – 24 August 1987

'Mr March On Washington' has a lot more to his name than just that one event in 1963. While being openly gay and briefly a member of the communist party meant he was sometimes forced to stay out of the limelight, he was an incredibly effective and respected organiser. The 1963 march, for which Rustin was deputy director, saw 200,000 people protest in the US Capital and hosted Martin Luther King's most famous speech.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR

Martin Luther King is probably the best known of the civil rights leaders, but are there any moments of his life that you think aren't talked about enough?

KG: After King's assassination in 1968, King's widow, Coretta Scott King, and civil rights activists campaigned to make King's birthday a national holiday. President Ronald Reagan, who had initially opposed the holiday, relented, signing the bill into law in 1983. Those who spent years campaigning for the bill celebrated. But conservatives opposed to civil rights may have had the last laugh.

Conservatives soon distorted the legacy of the martyred civil rights leader. Emphasising King's "I Have a Dream" speech, conservatives usurped King's ideal of a colour-blind society to delegitimise enforcement of race-conscious, civil rights remedies. At the same time, conservatives were loathe to acknowledge King's radical advocacy for economic justice for poor people, and his opposition to the costly and immoral US war in Vietnam.

Had he lived King would have continued to pursue his revolutionary agenda for economic justice for all poor people, regardless of race. King had become a pariah to US officials when he declared his anti-war position, and called for a radical restructuring of US society. King never wavered in his commitment to nonviolence as younger militants were recklessly calling for

armed struggle. Unlike the militants, King was threatening to the establishment because he combined his moral and rhetorical clarity about society's ills with a truly radical agenda for racial and economic justice.

Can King's contribution to enacting change to laws and in changing mindsets in the US be overstated?

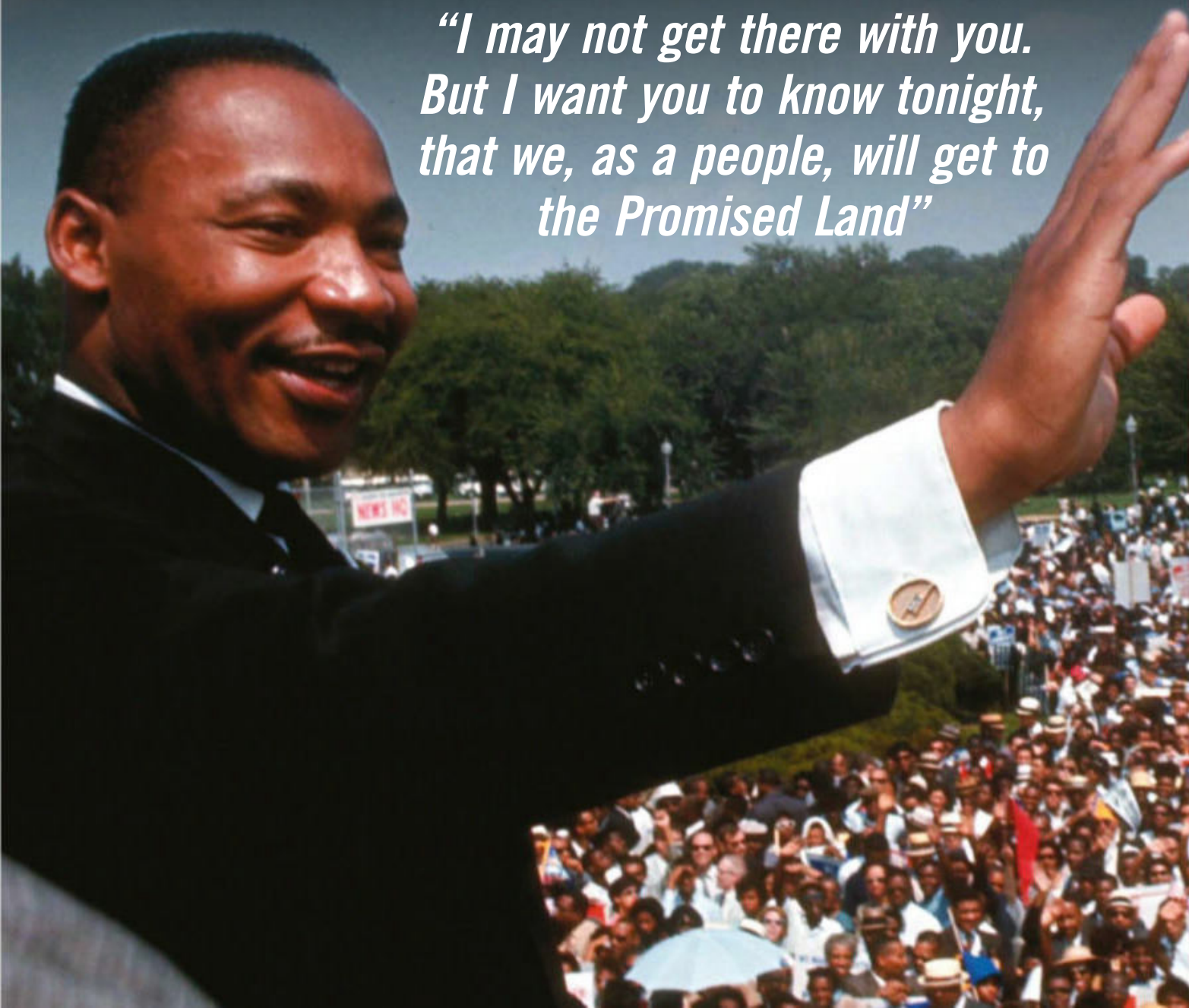
KG: Not at all. King was an erudite intellectual with the eloquence of a traditional black folk preacher. He was unmatched in his ability to portray the demands and goals of the civil rights movement and condemn segregation and racism to US audiences in a manner that resonated with core American ideals and values. He equated his dream for racial equality with the American Dream. Later, King was a courageous leader and social critic unwilling to shy away from harsh realities about racial and social injustice. King was responsive to the changing conditions created by black urban rebellions, challenges from young militants, and the war in Vietnam. When King and Southern Christian Leadership Conference met with welfare rights activists in Los Angeles, expecting them to sign on to his Poor People's Campaign, the women activists educated King on the inadequacy of state welfare allotments, and helped bring black women into focus for him as a group uniquely disadvantaged by poverty.

*"I may not get there with you.
But I want you to know tonight,
that we, as a people, will get to
the Promised Land"*



15 January 1929 - 4 April 1968

Martin Luther King Jr rose to prominence thanks to his powerful oratory skills, depicting a future for America that was cooperative and fair for all citizens. In 1955 he became head of the Montgomery Improvement Association to lead protests over the arrest of Rosa Parks. In the years that followed he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the hopes of uniting the movement for social change. In 1963 he gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in front of the Lincoln Memorial. The following year King would become the youngest man to win the Nobel Peace Prize and President Johnson would pass the Civil Rights Act. He was shot and killed in 1968 at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis Tennessee before an event he was going to attend. He was 39 years old.





4 February 1913 – 24 October 2005

Rosa Parks may be best known for having been arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger on a segregated bus in Montgomery, Alabama, but her story and role in the civil rights movement was so much more than that. She was a long-serving member of the NAACP, she made multiple public appearances alongside King and became a popular figure at events. Parks moved to Detroit with her husband after victory in the Supreme Court and having endorsed John Conyers for Congress in 1964 she took up a position in his office, where she remained until she retired in 1988. She continued to fight for social and economic causes and in 1999 received the Congressional Gold Medal, America's highest civilian honour. Upon her death she was the first woman to lie in state in the Capitol building.



ROSA PARKS

Rosa Parks is best known for her part in the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Can you tell us a little about how much more she was involved in the movement?

KG: Rosa Parks was a veteran civil rights activist and longtime member of the NAACP. The focus on Parks's heroic action obscures the fact that the Montgomery Bus Boycott was the result of a team effort with local organisers planning a mass protest against racial discrimination in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus transit system.

One of the most enduring myths of the civil rights movement was that Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in December 1955 because she was tired, and her lone action was the catalyst for the movement that eventually desegregated public buses in Montgomery. In fact, Parks's action was planned well in advance, coordinated with brilliant organising that got the word of the boycott out to the city's 50,000 African Americans. Black people of all walks of life remained unified in staying off the buses, remaining nonviolent in their protest, and gaining international attention with their successful mass movement.

Rosa Parks wasn't necessarily the first to challenge segregation laws in Alabama around that time, so why do you think her story was so impactful?

KG: We remember Rosa Parks and her story for the right reasons, and for reasons that are problematic. To all appearances Parks was not destined for leadership. But she was an ordinary

person – a dressmaker and a housewife – who did something extraordinary, providing the catalyst for a mass movement that achieved nonviolent social change. Her willingness, and that of other leaders in Montgomery, to be arrested and jailed, stiffened the resolve of the local black community to stay the course. More problematically, the emphasis on Parks obscures prior, everyday challenges to segregation on the city's buses, and the collective agency of the black community – meaningful change comes from the actions of many, not a single individual. Some months before Parks, Claudette Colvin, a black Montgomery teenager, had been arrested for violating segregation ordinances on a city bus. But Colvin was of working-class background, unmarried and pregnant; organisers of the movement feared white officials would seize on Colvin's vulnerabilities to discredit the movement. Parks, by contrast, was middle-class, married, and thus, deemed respectable enough to serve as a public symbol of the movement. Colvin's story represents our modern view that rejects victim-blaming, and that inalienable human rights should be paramount, and not contingent on moralistic notions of social status.

“We are not in a struggle of black against white, but wrong and right, right against wrong”



JAMES BALDWIN

How important was it to have a voice like Baldwin's that could be factual and artful, to reach new ears?

KG: Though not a civil rights leader in the sense of being active in the movement, as a writer, journalist, and public spokesman, Baldwin effectively mediated opposing black and white perspectives on the nature and depth of racism, in the north, as well as in the south. In his most influential essays, Baldwin expressed African Americans' aspirations for change, and their frustration at its glacial pace.

He refused to let self-styled northern white liberals off the hook, puncturing their illusions of moral superiority over white racists and their atrocities down south. Baldwin reminded the nation that whites in the north, whether they knew it or not, had condemned their black



brothers and sisters to a less exposed, but physically and psychologically violent system of institutionalised racism, its harms inflicted by white police, landlords, judges, and employers. Baldwin told difficult truths to both African Americans and whites about the depth and tragedy of racism in America, its violent denial of the shared, brutal history of black and white people, and the intimate, blood connections between them since the days of slavery. Baldwin's novel *Another Country* (1961) explored a group of young blacks and whites struggling, often failing, to love each other, despite the alienation imposed by white supremacy and social segregation.



2 August 1924 – 1 December 1987

While others were foot soldiers of the civil rights movement, Baldwin was one of its great thinkers. He moved to Paris to write in 1948 in part to escape the prejudice he faced at home, but returned to America in 1957 as the movement gained momentum to publish essays on race relations. Baldwin spoke candidly about his experiences and continued to write about race and identity until the later years of his life.

THURGOOD MARSHALL

What do you consider to be Thurgood Marshall's biggest legal victory?

KG: He would be legendary simply for his role as lead attorney in the landmark *Brown* decision of 1954. But later, as the first African American appointed as a Supreme Court Justice, Marshall also made history with his dissents, as the Court, reflecting the conservative tilt of the nation, rendered decisions against civil rights. In his dissent in *Milliken v Bradley* (1973), Marshall held that the majority, in striking down a desegregation plan covering Detroit had taken "a giant step backwards." Marshall prophetically argued, "the very evil that *Brown I* was aimed at will not be cured, but will be perpetuated for the future." Today Detroit and other big city school districts are among the most segregated in the nation.



2 July 1908 – 24 January 1993

Thurgood Marshall used the legal system as his means of change. As deputy counsel and later chief counsel of the NAACP he would fight landmark discrimination cases, most famously *Brown v The Board of Education* in 1954, which forced desegregation of schools and tore apart the concept of separate but equal. Since he preferred to use the legal system over protest, he was not always supportive of the wider civil rights movement, but his contribution was immense. He won more cases in front of the Supreme Court than any other American and was appointed to the court in 1967.

ROSANELL EATON

What can you tell us about Eaton's life and contribution?

KG: Her example reminds us that tenacious foot soldiers like her were the backbone of the movement. At age 21, Eaton went to the county courthouse and informed three white male registrars that she was there to register to vote. They demanded that she recite the preamble to the US Constitution, a sort of literacy test intended to disqualify unlettered black people. "We the people of the United States," Eaton began, and when she finished, she was registered, and became one of the first African Americans to vote in her state since Reconstruction. In 2015 Republicans in her state passed a Voter ID law intended to restrict access to the polls. When Eaton's efforts to comply with the law fell short, she became the lead plaintiff in an NAACP lawsuit, which led to the US Fourth Circuit of the Court of Appeals overturning the law, ruling that it was blatant in its discriminatory intent.

14 April 1921 – 8 December 2018

Rosanell Eaton shot to prominence more in her later years when she was part of a lawsuit against new voter ID laws in North Carolina that stripped her of her ability to vote 74 years after she originally registered. In the years between these two events she estimates she helped to register 4,000 voters in her home state. Eaton achieved further acclaim when President Obama named her as one of the people who helped to pave the way to his election success in 2008.



FANNIE LOU HAMER

Fannie Lou Hamer was involved in several political organisations, including challenging whites-only rules in the Mississippi Democratic Party. How important was she to the movement?

KG: Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer epitomised the confidence of Ella Baker and SNCC activists that the potential for leadership and self-government existed among the rank and file of African American communities. As SNCC leader James Forman once said, there's only one Dr King, but many Fannie Lou Hamers. Point taken, but it doesn't do justice to Mrs Hamer's indelible presence. Hamer's plain-spoken testimony before the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in 1964 provided a deeply personal account of the systemic mistreatment of African Americans in Mississippi. Speaking on behalf of SNCC's appeal to



the Democratic Party to unseat the segregationist Mississippi delegation, Hamer riveted a national television audience with an account of her arrest and beating, along with several other SNCC women, for their civil rights activism. So compelling was her testimony that President Lyndon Johnson called a press conference for no reason except to get Mrs Hamer off the air. While Johnson supported civil rights, he did so on his own terms.

In her televised remarks, which the major networks re-broadcast in their entirety on their national news programs, Mrs Hamer broke important silences, not only regarding the sexualised violence of segregationist jailers against black women, but also the violence and psychological trauma routinely inflicted on women activists. Mrs Hamer continued her efforts to open the political system to African Americans in Mississippi, serving as a delegate to the Democratic Convention in 1968. She headed an organisation, the Freedom Farms Corporation, a non-profit group to help poor families produce food and livestock for both subsistence and economic empowerment.



6 October 1917 – 14 March 1977

In 1962, having organised a voter drive through the SNCC, Hamer was fired and evicted by her landlord. She turned her hardships into action, however, quickly rising up through the ranks to become a field secretary for the SNCC and organising for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. She shot to national attention with a passionate speech about her experiences of discrimination and violence to the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

JOHN LEWIS

John Lewis was able to take his activism from the streets into Washington by running for office. How would you assess his overall importance in the fight for racial equality in America?

KG: John Lewis was a key figure in SNCC, which was the younger, more radical counterpart to such established civil rights organisations as the NAACP and the SCLC. An aspiring minister, Lewis grew up in Georgia, like many of his generation observing the accommodation of his elders to the indignities of Jim Crow segregation. While attending Fisk University in Nashville, Lewis encountered the Rev James Lawson, a local African American minister who preached a message of Gandhian nonviolence as a tool to fight injustice. As a SNCC leader, Lewis participated in the Freedom Rides, an initiative by black and white activists to test a new federal law desegregating interstate travel. Attacks on the Freedom Riders by white vigilantes, with the collusion of local police departments made international headlines, embarrassing the Kennedy administration. Lewis was hospitalised along with fellow riders after being attacked by a mob in Birmingham. Lewis recovered, and as one of the speakers at the March on Washington, voiced impatience at the Kennedy administration's non-enforcement of civil rights. Lewis is perhaps best



remembered as leading a march of campaigners for voting rights in Selma, Alabama in 1965. That peaceful assembly was violently dispersed by baton-wielding state troopers, some mounted on horseback. Beaten unconscious, Lewis was hospitalised and the shocking televised news footage of the Bloody Sunday attack galvanised the nation, leading eventually to the Voting Rights Act passed by Congress in 1965.

Lewis's courage and sacrifices as a civil rights activist contribute to his stature and moral authority as a congressman representing Atlanta in the House of Representatives. Lewis has been an outspoken critic of escalating attacks on voting rights by conservatives since 2010. He is a powerful symbol of racial reconciliation as well, in public encounters with men who sought forgiveness for having brutalised him during the movement.

21 February 1940 – Present

John Lewis helped found the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee in 1961, at only 22 years old he was elected to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference board, made chairman of the SNCC in 1963, delivered a keynote address at the March on Washington and lead the march across Edmund Pettus Bridge that ended with state troopers attacking protestors. He has been a congressman for Georgia's fifth district since 1987, now serving his 17th term.



MALCOLM X

How much has public perception of Malcolm X changed since his death?

KG: Since his assassination in 1965, the public perception of Malcolm X has changed dramatically. After his ousting from the Nation of Islam (NOI), Malcolm emphasised that his views on race, religion, and the black struggle for equality had become more pragmatic, and less dogmatic. He renounced the racism of the NOI that called white Americans devils.

While he wholeheartedly embraced orthodox Islam, he understood that for the sake of black unity, it was unrealistic to expect most African Americans to become Muslims. And Malcolm worked to forge political unity among black people, pledging his support for civil rights leaders and organisations that he previously disparaged. Much to Malcolm's frustration, the mainstream media continued to portray him as someone who preached hatred and violence, refusing to acknowledge his changed outlook.

Since his death, the shift in Malcolm's views and his linking the African American freedom movement with the liberation struggles of peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are much better known. Thanks to recent books such as Stephen Tuck's *The Night Malcolm X Spoke At Oxford Union* and the revival of popular interest in Malcolm's life by Spike Lee's 1992 film biography, we have a more complete and complex understanding of Malcolm as a global icon of resistance to oppression, but crucially, a unifying figure, rather than a divisive one.

Malcolm X is often painted as a counter-point or mirror to Martin Luther King. Is that fair?

KG: African Americans have long debated among themselves, sometimes fiercely, the merits of alternative strategies for freedom. Much of this comes from their pragmatic understanding that there are multiple paths to freedom, more than one way (let us hope) to resist past and present racial injustice. At the same time, the tendency to hold up Malcolm X and Martin Luther King as symbols of competing strategies during the civil rights movement was shaped by the US political establishment and media, which clearly preferred King as the advocate of nonviolent social reform, while casting Malcolm X as an exponent of wanton violence and civil disorder. In effect, this dominant framing of the issue of civil rights and black leadership was rooted in the fears of white racists and moderates equating the movement with violence. Because the federal government for decades permitted southern states to preside over a criminal reign of terror with a callous disregard for the sanctity of black lives, it was not surprising that Malcolm's advocacy of armed self-defence and his rejection of the tactic of nonviolence would resonate among many African Americans at that time.

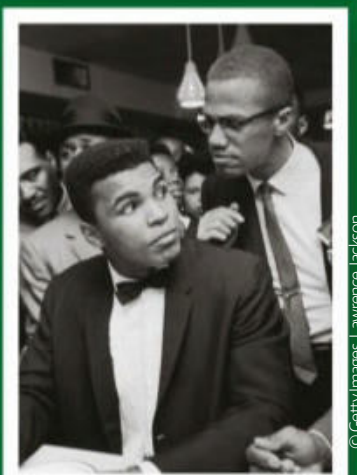
Martin Luther King and Malcolm X represented opposing sides in the wrenching debate among African Americans over the virtues and limitations of nonviolent protest.

"We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying 'We Shall Overcome'. We've got to fight to overcome"



19 May 1925 – 21 February 1965

After becoming a ward of the state and falling into crime Malcolm X ultimately went to prison aged 20, where he was introduced to the messages of self-actualisation and empowerment promoted by the Nation of Islam. In 1952 he became a minister for the NOI, took the surname X and started his rise. He rejected the doctrine of nonviolence believing that the institutional violence African Americans were facing should be met in kind. However, after leaving the NOI in 1964 and going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he returned with a moderated view of racial cooperation a little closer to King. He smartly used his notoriety to drive more entrenched racist authorities to open dialogue with King rather than have him 'agitate the community' such as in Selma after Bloody Sunday. Just a few weeks later he was killed while making a speech by three members of the NOI. He was 39 years old.



THE SULTANATE OF WOMEN

How the sultan's harem became the focal point
of political power in the Ottoman Empire

Written by Jem Duducu

The Ottoman Empire lasted 600 years. It began at the tail end of the crusading movement in the Middle East and finished in the 1920s. This means that there are still a few people alive today who were born subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The peak of the empire began with Suleiman I, known as 'The Lawgiver' in the east and as 'The Magnificent' in the west. Intriguingly, while he was in charge of an empire in its prime and undeniably the most powerful man in Europe in the 1500s, it's his reign that also begins the era of the 'Sultanate of Women', a time when the harem became the focal point of political power.

'Harem' is a Turkish word from the Arabic 'haram', which means forbidden or sacrosanct. It refers to the private quarters of the palace, set aside for the sultan's women, including his mother, wives (officially four), daughters and other female relatives as well as the concubines who were there purely for the sultan's pleasure. It was, quite

simply, the sultan's family home. The imperial harem, of which the one in Topkapı Palace is probably the most famous example, typically housed dozens of women - at its peak in the 16th and 17th centuries, there were about 300.

The power of the Ottoman court was based on a strict hierarchy, with the sultan at the top. The Ottoman harem was also a hierarchy, with the sultan's mother, the valide sultan, the supreme ruler. Wives were next in rank and others followed according to how they played the power politics in this all female domain. Lower ranking women acted as servants to higher ranking women.

The Topkapı Palace harem is vast and labyrinthine. Walking around just the few parts of the compound that are open to the public is incredibly evocative, a place where it is easy to imagine whispered intrigues as footsteps echo through the beautifully tiled corridors. One room has a gurgling fountain, strategically located so that conversations could not be overheard. The harem would have been a lively place, with

children running around, unaware that only one of the little boys would become the next sultan, to the detriment of his of brothers, who were, at times, ritually strangled on the accession of the new sultan. As such, there was constant plotting and scheming as each mother of a son vied to position him to become sultan.

Suleiman was the first sultan in over two centuries to be officially married (but he still had hundreds of concubines). His wife was formally known as Hürrem Haseki Sultan, but she was better known as Roxelana, and she was what we would today call Ukrainian. Roxelana was most likely captured by the Tartars and handed over to the Ottomans as part of their annual tribute. She was about 15 when she arrived in the imperial harem in Istanbul, a young girl in a strange land, surrounded by an unfamiliar language, religion and culture. Because of the sheer number in the harem, just being there didn't automatically mean you would ever meet the sultan, let alone catch his eye. But catch his eye she did.

The Sultanate of Women

Roxelana And The Sultan
by German baroque
painter Anton Hickel



Ottoman Empire

When Roxelana arrived, Suleiman already had two favourites, Gülfem and Mahidevran. But Roxelana's outgoing personality and playfulness intoxicated the young sultan and, over time, she became his favourite by knocking her competitors down the pecking order. She was so favoured that she was allowed to have more than one son, breaking a centuries-old tradition. And she broke another tradition when she married Suleiman. Obviously their wedding in 1533/34 was as lavish and as opulent as it was surprising. The marriage and Roxelana's new position as chief consort set a precedent and explains why women were to

hold such sway at court for the next 130 years. Roxelana's wealth and influence would have made her far more powerful than her contemporary, Queen Mary of England. This Ukrainian slave girl influenced foreign policy and affairs of state of the largest empire

in Europe and the Middle East. The sultan's wife now had more power than anyone but the sultan.

It is a little known fact that many of the sultan's women did not spend their entire lives in the harem. Once a son came of age at around 16, he was sent off to govern an area of the empire... and the mother went with the son. This meant the son had an ally he could trust and it also stopped the harem from becoming a nursing home for older consorts. Again Roxelana bucked the trend and stayed in the royal harem to be near her husband and sons, in the thick of imperial intrigue.

Later in Suleiman's reign, Mustafa, the son of Mahidevran, rebelled. He was older than any of the chief consort's sons and, therefore, more likely to take the throne come the sultan's death, which meant he posed a real and direct threat to Roxelana's sons and her legacy.

Up until his rebellion, Mustafa had been seen as capable and had even served as his father's grand vizier (prime minister) for a time. The interesting thing about this rebellion is that there seems to be no evidence for it other than hearsay, and that hearsay seems to have come from Roxelana.

Rebelling Ottoman princes were nothing new, so it could be that Mustafa had grown impatient to become sultan, or it could be that the whole thing was made up by Roxelana as a means to remove the main impediment to one of her sons becoming sultan (with all that this meant for her). If the latter was the case, her scheming worked. Suleiman had Mustafa executed and Mahidevran, with no son, lost her status and became an irrelevance in the power politics of the sultanate. While it's not hard to believe that Roxelana plotted Mustafa's fall, it could also be that rumours about her involvement were spread by her enemies (she had many). However, when considering *cui bono* (who benefits), this turn of events would seem to have most favoured Roxelana. Her links to other high profile executions seem to have been based more on gossip than this particular one. She died in 1558 in her mid-50s and her mausoleum is adjacent to Suleiman's in Istanbul.

Fast forwarding about 50 years, we come to the other famous female figure in Ottoman politics, Kösem. This is where the Sultanate of Women becomes *Game Of Thrones* on steroids.



Roxelana broke tradition when she married Suleiman I



The Haseki Hürrem Sultan Hamam in Istanbul built in 1556 by Mimar Sinan

The imperial harem was not just a pleasure palace but the sultan's private quarters. It was where he ate, slept, read and planned imperial policy. Yes, he kept his concubines busy, but the harem was primarily his family home

Sultan Ahmed became the new sultan at the age of 13 in 1603. Even at this young age he made a significant impact on Ottoman imperial protocol - he did not have his brother strangled. Instead, his 11-year-old brother Mustafa was quietly tucked away in a palace, in essence, under a very luxurious house arrest. Ahmed had yet to hit puberty, so it was best for all that there was an heir and a spare. However his decision was written into law and from then on no more little coffins would be carried out of Topkapı Palace on the accession of a new sultan.

For one so young, Ahmet had a lot on his plate. He finished a war in the west and one in the east, with no major changes in the balance of power. Ahmed knew the importance of the dynastic line and, once he reached an appropriate age, he met Kösem, a girl in the harem who was only a little older than he was. Better known to history as Kösem Sultan, she arrived in the harem at exactly

the right time. Ahmed's mother and grandmother, both women of immense power and influence, would not have shared Ahmed with this new girl, but they both died relatively early in Ahmed's reign, so Kösem, having caught the sultan's eye, now had to keep it.

Whatever she did worked spectacularly well as the year she gave birth to the boy who would later be sultan was the same year that Ahmed's other consort, Mahfiruz Hatice Sultan, was beaten by the eunuchs, a sign that Kösem Sultan remained at the top of the pecking order. She was the wife of one sultan, the mother of two more and was still around to wield power for her grandson.

Unfortunately, Sultan Ahmed caught typhus in 1617 and died from internal bleeding. He was just 27 years old and, although he had a young son, the Ottoman court feared what message a boy ruler would send out to the empire's enemies. This was a critical moment for the empire.

Enter Mustafa, the brother who had been quietly tucked away since Ahmed's coronation. Mustafa may have been born with a learning or mental disability, which would not have been helped by years spent in the 'cage', a windowless set of sumptuous rooms in the harem, where the sultan's male heirs lived out their young lives.

The decision to gird Mustafa with the sword of Osman (the Ottoman equivalent of being crowned) was not a popular one, and many in the court objected. With the impossible choice of a boy sultan or a mad one, the court picked the mad one. Unsurprisingly, this didn't go well and he has been remembered by history as Mustafa the Mad.

Sultan Mustafa lasted three months. He was seen at the royal arsenal, made a few public appearances, waved to the crowds a bit and then was unceremoniously dumped back in his



Suleiman I was the longest-reigning Sultan of the Ottoman Empire

HEARTFELT EXPRESSION



Unusually, some of the love poetry Suleiman wrote for Roxelana has survived. An example:

*Throne of my lonely niche, my wealth, my love, my moonlight.
My most sincere friend, my confidant, my very existence, my
sultan, my one and only love.
The most beautiful among the beautiful...
My springtime, my merry faced love, my daytime, my sweetheart,
laughing leaf...
My plants, my sweet, my rose, the one only who does not distress
me in this world...
My Constantinople, my Caraman, the earth of my Anatolia
My Badakhshan, my Baghdad and Khorasan
My woman of the beautiful hair, my love of the slanted brow, my
love of eyes full of mischief...
I'll sing your praises always
I, lover of the tormented heart, Muhibbi of the eyes full of tears,
I am happy.*

It is said that Kösem Sultan was strangled with her own hair

The only adult male allowed in the harem was the sultan. The guards were all black eunuchs who held positions of great responsibility and authority. The system ensured that any children born to the women of the harem were fathered only by the sultan

palace. The reason was a powerful new cabal in the government, and they preferred Osman, who was Ahmed's oldest son. So, a 14 year old was the next to be girded with Osman's sword and he became Osman II.

After his father's death and a decade of scheming, there were too many vested interests to give Osman a chance. Rather than a leader in his own right, he was meant to be a figurehead under the control of the anti-Mustafa cabal. He was a teenager surrounded by hungry wolves, with no power base of his own. The Janissaries, always alert to the machinations of power politics, began to scheme while in the harem Kösem Sultan plotted. Osman II was not her son. If he were allowed to build a power base or, worse for her, to marry and announce his own Haseki Sultan, then her influence would evaporate.

Despite his early promise as a military leader and the four years he spent trying to suppress the intrigue in his own court, Osman II was finally outmanoeuvred. The Janissaries seized the sultan and imprisoned him. A short time later he was strangled and, after this assassination of the rightful ruler, Mad Mustafa was brought back to be the figurehead for the ruling elite.

Interestingly Mustafa did not take the news of his return to power in a way that might be expected. As the heads of the various power bases conveyed the news of his nephew's death, Mustafa was clearly making mental notes, and every one of the men involved in the plot, including the grand vizier and the head of the Janissaries was executed under his orders. Later he was seen wandering the corridors of the palace looking for Osman, crying out for him to relieve him of the burdens of being sultan.

The executions were probably the only thing Mustafa did in his second reign that were his own idea. He was his mother's puppet, and behind the scenes, Halime Sultan was vying for power with Kösem Sultan. It remained to be seen just which of the harem mothers would come out on top.

Kösem Sultan brought instability to a close (in the short term) when she won the battle for power in the harem. Mustafa gratefully stepped down again and was allowed to live out his days in the old palace, while Kösem Sultan's son became by far the youngest sultan at just 11 years of age.

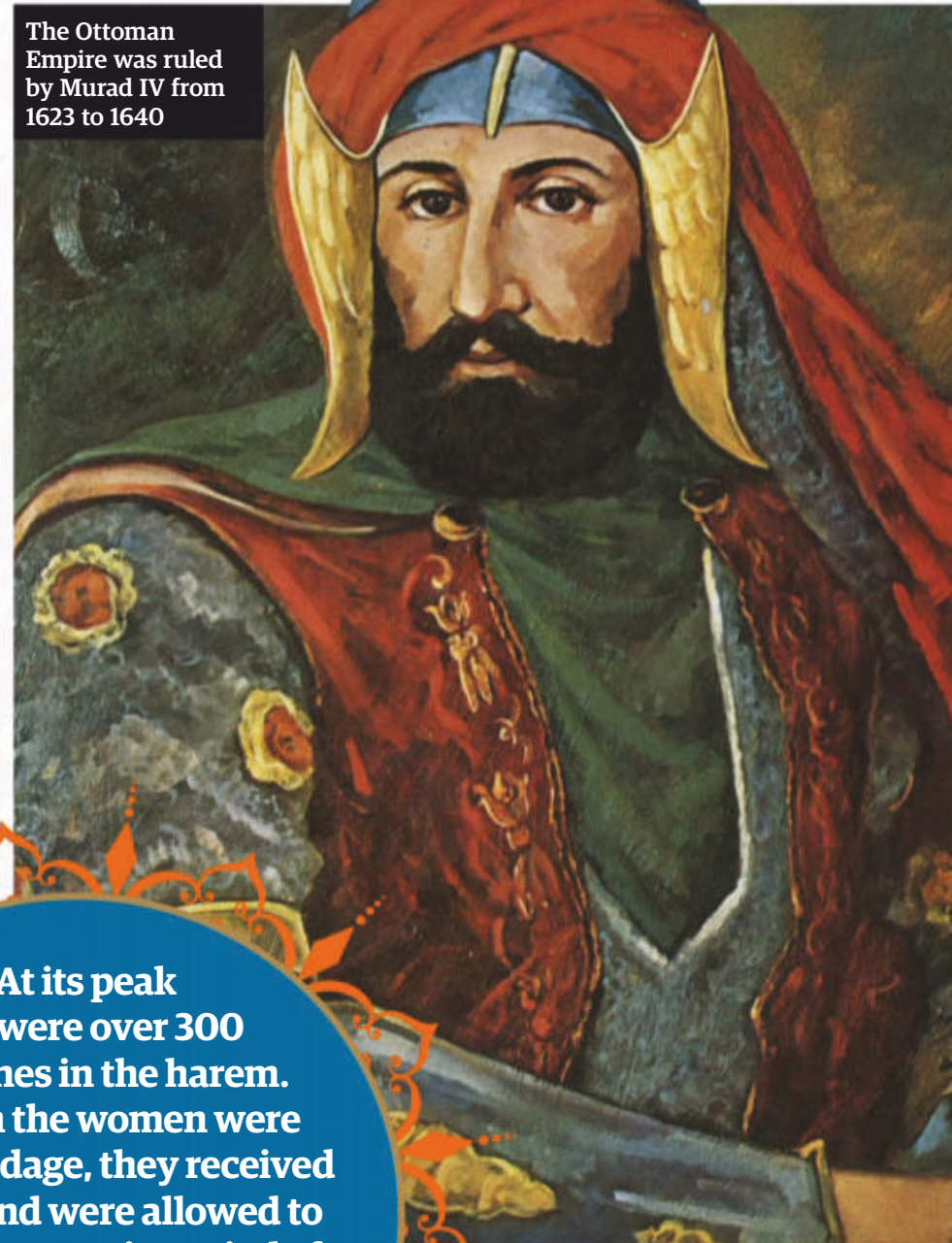
In the future, Murad IV would become one of the greatest

Mihrimah Sultan was one of the prominent figures during the Sultanate of Women

The Sultanate of Women



Kösem Sultan became valide sultan when Murad IV rose to power



The Ottoman Empire was ruled by Murad IV from 1623 to 1640

At its peak there were over 300 concubines in the harem. Although the women were held in bondage, they received stipends and were allowed to leave after a certain period of service, usually nine years, when many of them married into the Ottoman aristocracy

dichotomies in Ottoman history but, in the meantime, Kösem Sultan was regent to her sultan son. She was all too aware that as he matured, nature would take its course, and she would be superseded by her son's wife, just as she had herself had usurped her mother-in-law's power.

So it seems that Kösem Sultan came up with a cunning plan - she would ensure Murad IV was gay. While this is speculation there can be almost no other reason to have attractive male teenagers regularly paraded in front of her son. To say that her ploy affected Murad's attitude to women is something of an understatement. On one occasion he ordered the personal guard on his barge to attack washer women on the shoreline. Their crime? Singing. On another occasion, he ordered all the concubines into the swimming pool where they had to tread water to stay afloat, while he fired a slingshot at any woman who tried to get out. Some of them drowned.

Murad IV died of cirrhosis of the liver in 1640, aged just 28. All of his hard work to bring stability was undone. Murad IV had come to power after a mad predecessor and now, once again, power was back in the hands of a madman. Murad IV's brother and the son of Kösem Sultan, Ibrahim, had lived his entire life in the cage. Such a strict confinement was likely to drive anyone mad, but mad or not, Ibrahim had the strongest claim to the throne (It was vital to the Ottomans that the

empire was always ruled by an heir to the first Osman). Unfortunately, he thought the ceremony of his accession was an elaborate hoax on the part of his dead brother, and he resisted being girded with Osman's sword and belt. To be fair to Ibrahim, Murad IV had killed men for far less, but Ibrahim couldn't believe he was sultan until he was allowed to see Murad IV's body.

Kösem Sultan was in a bind. While she had always struggled to put her own power before the health of the empire, there was no doubt that heirs to the throne were becoming thin on the ground. While she did not want to lose out to a younger woman, she had to make sure that Ibrahim had children. Ironically, Ibrahim sired three sultans, a record number. This is probably unsurprising given that he spent most of his time in the harem which was the only home he had ever known.

In 1647 Kösem Sultan, as well as the grand vizier, began plotting Ibrahim's overthrow. Unfortunately for them, he got wind of the palace coup and acted first. The grand vizier was executed and Kösem Sultan was banished from the capital, but these moves only slowed the

wheels of revolt. Once again the Janissaries rose up, and this time they were supported by the general population. Everyone had had enough. While Ibrahim was living lavishly, the price of food and other goods was constantly rising for the public.

With turmoil at the top once more, Kösem Sultan was brought back to work out what to do. Ibrahim's reign was now untenable, but a successor had to be chosen before an uprising turned into a revolution - or even civil war. The new grand vizier and Kösem Sultan agreed that the best plan of action was to have Ibrahim executed and install his six-year-old son Mehmed as the new sultan.

Mehmed IV's reign brought an end to Kösem Sultan's power. She was not a blood relative and his mother Turhan feared the scheming woman might well make a move against the boy sultan. While it is thought that this was unlikely, it didn't prevent her execution in 1651 (there is no proof, but it was believed to have been ordered by Turhan), when it is said that she was strangled with her own hair. Her execution was a bold move and her death brought to a close the many decades of influence she and her predecessors had wielded both in the harem and the sultan's court.

The Theft Of The MONA LISA

How the daring theft in 1911 turned
Leonardo's legendary masterpiece into
a household name

Written by Jack Parsons

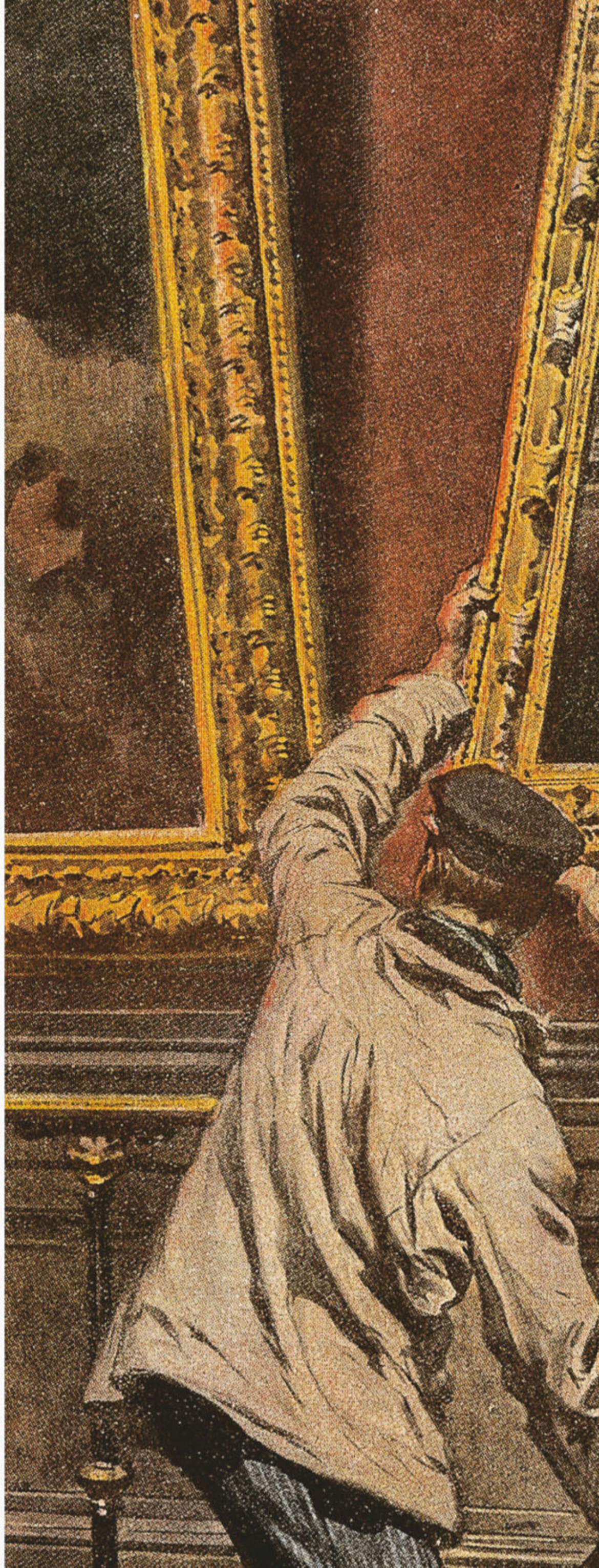
The *Mona Lisa* is the world's most famous painting. Millions line up to see Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece at the Louvre museum in Paris each year. Critics might dispute the meaning of the model's enigmatic side-eye smile, but everyone knows what she looks like.

However, if you went back to the dawn of the 20th century, few would know the name 'Mona Lisa'. Academics had begun to re-evaluate the portrait's place in Renaissance art, but this had yet to filter down from high society into pop culture. The small and unassuming portrait wasn't even regarded as the most famous painting in the Louvre. But that all changed when the *Mona Lisa* suddenly vanished one morning.

Scene of the crime

Such was the oil painting's obscurity, that it was 28 hours before anyone noticed it was gone. On Tuesday 22 August 1911, an artist named Louis Bérour planned to paint a copy of the *Mona Lisa* sat in situ in the Louvre's Salon Carré. Instead he found the portrait was no longer hung where it had been for the last five years.

Assuming it had been taken away to be photographed, Bérour persuaded a security guard to find out how long it would be gone. When the photo studio reported that they didn't have the *Mona Lisa*, it slowly dawned on the museum that it had been robbed. Prefect Louis Lépine, chief of the Parisian police, locked down the Louvre.



The Theft Of The Mona Lisa



Stolen Smile

An army of gendarmes surrounded the building and took positions on the roof to spot anyone trying to make an escape. Visitors were removed gallery by gallery. The doors were locked behind them. From noon, detectives began a systematic search of the world's largest museum. A former fortress and royal residence, the Louvre covers a total area of 60,600 square metres (652,300 square feet). It took a week to search all of its 300 rooms. After a few hours, an empty frame was found hidden in a side stairs. A museum official confirmed that it had belonged to the *Mona Lisa*. Discarded with the frame was a glass case, installed to protect the painting from harm.

"The mark of shame"

While the police posted wanted posters featuring the *Mona Lisa* on Parisian walls, images of

the artwork were splashed across newspapers worldwide. Part of the allure for readers was how the crime scandalised the French. As one *New York Times* headline put it, "60 detectives seek stolen *Mona Lisa*, French public indignant."

The French were outraged with how their government managed the Louvre. Fewer than 150 guards protected its quarter of a million objects. A heavy statue of the Egyptian god Isis was stolen about a year before the *Mona Lisa* and in 1907 a woman was sentenced to six months in prison for slashing a canvas.

"Fewer than 150 guards protected its quarter of a million objects"

Despite this, the government's director of the national museums, Théophile Homolle, had laughed at the possibility of theft from the Louvre in 1910, "You might as well as pretend that one could steal the towers of the cathedral of Notre Dame!" He was on holiday once again when the *Mona Lisa* was taken. It was left to the curator of Egyptian antiquities to call the police. Homolle lost his job.

When the Louvre reopened a week later, a crowd flocked to see the Salon Carré crime scene for themselves. They gawked at the vacant space between a Correggio and a Titian, where only four iron hooks and a dusty outline hung on the

The Art of the Steal

How the thief made off with da Vinci's masterpiece



2 Daylight robbery

The thief lifted the *Mona Lisa* off the wall when no one was looking. However, this was easier said than done. With a frame and a protective glass case, the portrait reportedly weighed around 90kg!



4 A helping hand

Peruggia encountered a locked door as he tried to leave through the Visconti courtyard. Fortunately, a passing plumber had a key and opened it for him.

3 Away from prying eyes

Peruggia carried the picture to a nearby service staircase to remove it from its frame. As an added precaution, he tucked this evidence behind some stacked artworks being stored on the landing.

5 Express getaway

At 77cm high, the *Mona Lisa* is notoriously small, but it was too large for Peruggia to hide under his smock, as some suggested. Instead he carried it wrapped in a blanket as he hot-footed it to catch the 7.47am express train.



1 Hiding in plain sight

Peruggia entered the Louvre around 7am, on a day when the museum was closed for weekly maintenance. Dressed in a white workman's smock, he blended in with other employees.

6 Buying his time

Peruggia's initial plan had been to sell the painting as soon as possible, but the ensuing media frenzy meant he had to wait 28 months. He stored the *Mona Lisa* in a false-bottomed wooden trunk.



Leonardo da Vinci sold his portrait of Lisa Gherardini to his long-time patron, Francis I, in 1518



The missing *Mona Lisa* was a living nightmare for museum director Théophile Homolle



The blank space described by a friend of Franz Kafka as France's "mark of shame"

wall. The writer Franz Kafka was amongst the tourists who went to see it. His travel companion described the blank space as France's "mark of shame". Another visitor left a bouquet of flowers.

In the midst of the media frenzy, one French newspaper brazenly accused American tycoon and art lover JP Morgan of bankrolling the heist. As political tensions escalated with Germany, others suspected Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Another paper joked that Leonardo da Vinci himself had run away with the *Mona Lisa* after falling in love with her. Unfortunately, the police's leads weren't much better.

In the frame

Accountable only to the President of France, Prefect Lépine sealed the French borders. Trains and cars were stopped. Nobody was allowed to leave the country without a thorough search. Within hours of the theft being reported, an international dragnet reached across three continents. Ships arriving and departing from France would be searched when they reached their destination.

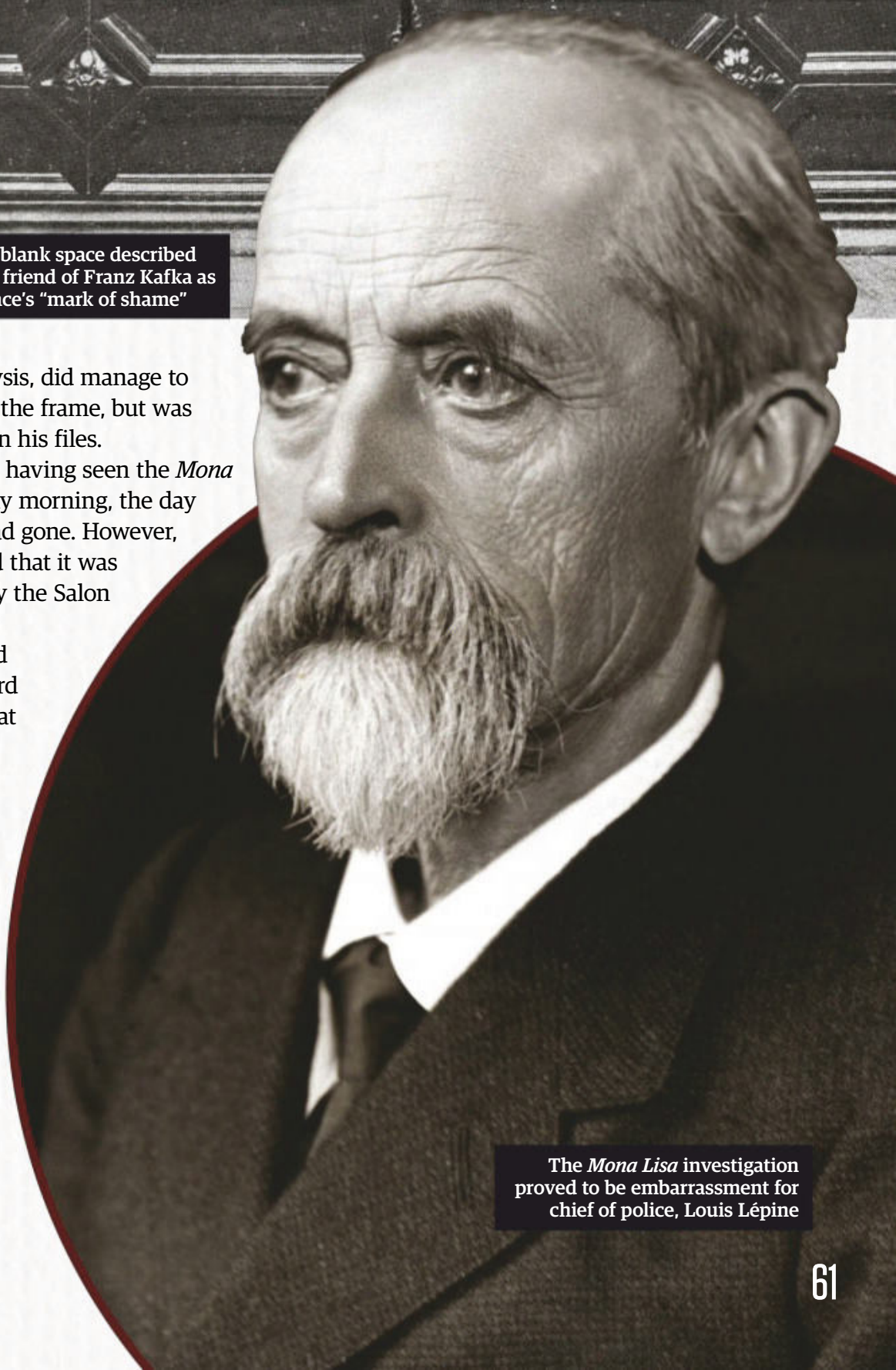
The search of the museum employed the latest forensic methods, but no clues were found beyond the *Mona Lisa*'s frame. Alphonse Bertillon, the

pioneer of fingerprint analysis, did manage to recover a thumbprint from the frame, but was unable to match with any in his files.

One worker remembered having seen the *Mona Lisa* around 7am on Monday morning, the day before Bérour realised it had gone. However, the same worker also noted that it was missing when he walked by the Salon Carré an hour later.

Further research revealed that the usual security guard in the Salon Carré was not at work that day as one of his children had the measles. His replacement admitted leaving his post for a few minutes around 8am to smoke a cigarette. All of the evidence pointed to the theft occurring somewhere between 7-8.30 on the Monday morning.

But on Mondays, the Louvre was closed for cleaning. Suspecting it was an inside job, Lépine ordered an exhaustive



The *Mona Lisa* investigation proved to be embarrassment for chief of police, Louis Lépine

Rogue's gallery

How some of history's greatest artworks have been stolen



Ghent Altarpiece Stolen in 1934

The 12-panel Renaissance artwork has the reputation for being the world's most pilfered painting. Both Napoleon and Hitler looted the treasure as they conquered Europe. A renegade cleric sold off scenes in 1816, and another panel went to a museum decades later. The artwork was reunited for the first time in a century after World War I. But it was not to last – two panels were snatched in 1934. One was anonymously returned, but the 'Just Judges' panel remains at large.

The Scream Stolen in 1994

While most of Norway was watching the opening of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, two thieves broke into a gallery in nearby Oslo and took Edvard Munch's surrealist icon. Though they tripped an alarm, the lone guard ignored it. The robbers left a note reading, "Thanks for the poor security." The masterpiece was recovered after a piece of the frame was left at a deserted bus stop. Another version of *The Scream* was stolen in 2004.



The Last Judgement Stolen in 1473

Hans Memling's apocalyptic triptych was commissioned for a Medici bank manager, Angelo Tani. When it was captured en route by Polish privateer Paul Benecke, Tani appealed to the Papal Court for help. But it was ruled a justified spoil of the Anglo-Hanseatic War, as the artwork was seized from an English ship. *The Last Judgement* was subsequently donated to St Mary's Basilica in Gdańsk.



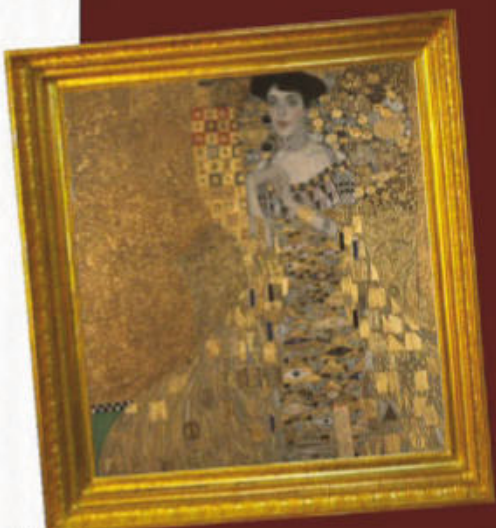
The Duke Of Wellington Stolen in 1961

In the first ever theft from the National Gallery, Francisco Goya's portrait of the Iron Duke was lifted on 21 August 1961. Days later the press received a letter offering to return the painting if £140,000 was donated to an agreed charity. While the James Bond film *Dr No* implied the titular villain was behind the heist, in reality a retired bus driver confessed to the crime. Kempton Bunton surrendered himself – and the artwork – to the police in 1965.



Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I Stolen in 1941

Gustav Klimt's Art Nouveau masterpiece was confiscated on trumped up charges by the Nazis in 1941, from the wealthy Jewish Bloch-Bauer family. After World War II, the 'Austrian *Mona Lisa*,' which is made with real gold flecks, continued to be hung in Vienna's state-owned Belvedere museum. The descendants of the Bloch-Bauers fought a number of lengthy legal battles to have the painting returned to them, which it eventually was in 2006.



interview of the 800 employees who had access to the *Mona Lisa* on Monday morning. This included museum officials, guards, workmen, cleaners and photographers, but turned up little useful information. One worker noted seeing a stranger, but couldn't match their face with any of the mug shots at the police station.

In a surprisingly open interview, Prefect Lépine told the *New York Times*, "So far nothing is known of their identity and whereabouts." This did not stop him speculating wildly, "I am certain that the motive was not a political one, but maybe it is a case of 'sabotage', brought about by discontent among the Louvre employees. Possibly, on the other hand, the theft was committed by a maniac."

The search for a maniac led to one of Paris's own "wild beasts" – Pablo Picasso. The painter, part of the avant-garde Fauve movement, had unknowingly purchased some statuettes stolen from the Louvre. Once this came to light, the increasingly desperate police wondered if Picasso might have taken the *Mona Lisa* to add to his art collection. Picasso's friend, the anarchist poet Guillaume Apollinaire was also suspected and jailed for five days on 7 September 1911.

After this brief art world scandal, two years went by with no developments in the case. And then the thief stepped out of the shadows.

Restoring the masterpiece

Vincenzo Peruggia thought he was going to get away with it. Rather than being the sort of criminal mastermind you might imagine, he was an Italian handyman living in Paris. He hadn't expected the little-known *Mona Lisa* to become an overnight celebrity when he snuck in and snatched it. This meant it was too hot to quickly fence as he had first hoped. But he'd done a good job of evading the police ever since.

In November 1911, he was interrogated as part of the interview of all Louvre employees. The year before Peruggia had installed the same glass cases he had later ripped from the *Mona Lisa*.

He was also known to the Parisian authorities – he was once arrested for trying to rob a prostitute. He was later briefly imprisoned for carrying a gun during a fist fight.

But when the police asked why he was late for work on that fateful Monday in August – as his employer had confirmed – he laughed it off. He claimed he'd drunk too much the night before and overslept. The officers thoroughly searched his bedsit, but had not found the false bottom in his wooden trunk, where the picture was safely stored. Perhaps thinking he was now in the clear, the Italian later cockily displayed a postcard of the wanted artwork on his mantelpiece.

But Peruggia pushed his luck. In November 1913, he responded to an ad placed in several Italian newspapers by Alfredo Geri, an antiques dealer. Within a few weeks, the thief – carrying his false-

The Theft Of The Mona Lisa



Peruggia's apartment in Paris, where he hid the *Mona Lisa* in the false bottom of a wooden trunk



Peruggia appears in a Florence courtroom in June 1914

"In court Peruggia tried to claim patriotic motivation"



Mugshot and fingerprints for the Leonardo larcenist, Vincenzo Peruggia

bottomed trunk - was in Florence to meet Geri, demanding half a million lire for the artwork.

Geri was shocked to discover a Louvre stamp on the back confirming its authenticity. He promptly called the police and Peruggia was arrested in his hotel room.

In court Peruggia tried to claim patriotic motivation. He declared that he had been on a mission to return Leonardo's artwork to Italy, believing it had been stolen by Napoleon (it wasn't). However, a list of American art collectors later found in his Parisian bedsit, suggested his motivations were more mercenary.

The public went wild once more at the news of the *Mona Lisa*'s recovery. The painting went on a triumphant tour through major Italian cities, and was waved goodbye by 60,000 Italians in Milan before being restored to the Louvre in January 1914. A million people came to view the painting in the Salon Carré in two days.

Peruggia pleaded guilty to stealing it, and was sentenced to just over a year in prison. This was later reduced to just seven months and nine days.

While you might have expected art lovers to protest such leniency, days after his trial, World War I broke out. The theft was no longer headline news. But the *Mona Lisa* would be regarded as an icon forever more.



Officials gather for the return of the *Mona Lisa* to the Louvre in January 1914



The Death Of Queen Victoria

Stewart Richards, author of *Curtain Down At Her Majesty's*, tells us about his journey through the first-person accounts of Victoria's death and its aftermath

Written by Jonathan Gordon

The passing of Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India was a seismic event that struck the empire and all of Europe. It would ultimately mark the beginning of a dark half-century of events in all the spheres of influence she had once occupied.

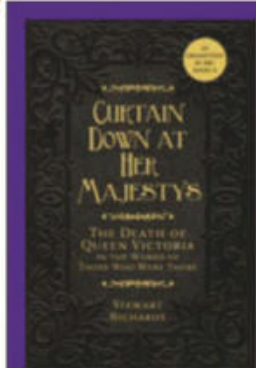
As the 20th century was beginning, the state of the world was changing, the British empire fraying and the peace of Europe threatening to crumble. Victoria's connection through blood and marriage to so many powerful families had helped keep the peace. In particular the growing power of Germany was being held back in part through Kaiser Wilhelm II being Victoria's eldest grandchild. But even so, new unrest was building in many parts of the world for greater political rights and freedoms as the promise of a new century gave everyone impetus to reevaluate their place in society.

It was in this context that her passing would shake the world, drawing out old animosities and allowing new ones to rise to the surface. Only 14 years later Europe would be at war, drawing many other nations into a global conflict with devastating ramifications for the century to follow.

A new book from Stewart Richards (also made into a BBC Radio 4 series) called *Curtain Down At Her Majesty's* brings together first-hand accounts, including Victoria's, of her final days, death and funeral with some shocking and fascinating details. Through extensive research into the diaries, letters, debates and news articles written at the time, we get an amazing new insight into what it was like to see this powerful and long-standing figure in British life leave the stage.

The picture these accounts paint is of a house in mourning long before Queen Victoria died and a nation ill-prepared for her death, even as it seemed imminent. We caught up with Richards to learn more about the book and what he learned.

Curtain Down At Her Majesty's



Curtain Down At Her Majesty's

By Stewart Richards is available now and a radio drama based on the accounts is available from the BBC iPlayer

How did you get started with this looking at the death of Queen Victoria from the perspective of those who were there, which is a unique take?

Stewart Richards: I actually kicked off doing dramas for Radio 4 and when they opened the doors to independence and I kept the rights to those to do them as audio books. I released them as audio books and they did quite well in the market and I was thinking what else I could do. Dramas are rather expensive to make and I just so happened to be reading the *Highland Journals* of Queen Victoria and as I was reading them I realised, first that she writes rather well and second, it was all in the first person and I thought, "ooh, what a great idea this is. It's like a one-man show". You get really involved in the story. So, I began to do a series of journals and diaries and letters for the commercial market and they did really well. While I was doing that somebody gave me a tiny little excerpt from a book called *Ask Sir James*. It was an excerpt from Sir James Reid who was the queen's doctor and it was a tiny bit and he just talked about him preparing the queen for her coffin. It just stuck with me forever, really. And this was 20 years ago.

I have hundreds if not thousands of diaries, I'm a kind of diary addict, and I read a memoir by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, which is called *Recollections Of Three Reigns*. It's a pretty old book and it's been around for years, but it was talking about the same events. I thought that was really interesting. When I did the audio books 20 years ago we did a series called *The Chronicle* and one of them was about the capturing of the Scharnhorst. We managed to find extracts of sailors and officers who fought in the battle, but they were German and English and there were four or five voices that really brought

the story to life. It was like a drama, but all of the words were written by the people who were there. So that was really interesting and when I read the Ponsonby book I thought that's two accounts now and so I began to delve around looking for what else had been written about her last days.

And, of course, it's a reasonably well documented event, whether they were there or a member of the general public. I began to find lots of excerpts and thought that I might be able to create a story about this.

So, I interwove all of these accounts without any writing by me, because I'm not a historian, but I am interested in telling stories. I tried to piece it together so that it tells an interesting narrative. It's kind of history in the raw. I'm not offering an opinion and it's not benefiting from hindsight. These were the words that were written at the time by the people who were there.

How did you go about trying to source all of this content and piece it together from so many angles?

I just began to read anything I could find about that last few months of her life. I spent time at the Royal Archives going through their material and obviously they have a great wodge of stuff about the Queen's funeral, so I just traced the people around. And it's interesting who turned up because everybody was writing about it at the time. It was a big thing.

The accounts you've found paint an incredibly intimate journey with a lot of candour, particularly from her doctor, Sir James Reid. What did you make of him?

He was absolutely devoted. He was with her for



Across the empire the funeral of Queen Victoria was being marked, as evidenced in this proclamation from the mayor of Toronto



People are said to have draped the streets that marked the path of the funeral procession through London and later Windsor with white and purple banners to celebrate Victoria's reign

The Death Of Queen Victoria

20-plus years and he was absolutely devoted to her. She trusted him and he really was her closest confidant. He almost supplanted John Brown, perhaps not in terms of affection, but in terms of someone she could trust.

He is an eloquent guy. By all accounts he was a really nice chap. I've not read a word that says anything against him. He took it as his personal responsibility and there's a moment where she told him she would like to live a little longer, as if that was in his control, and if it were he would have given it to her. But he also took responsibility because everybody was in denial. The royal family was in denial. Lord Salisbury, when he was asked just at Christmas 1900 if they should start preparing for the succession, he said no and wouldn't think about it. So, everybody was in denial. When it happened it happened really quickly. So Reid took it on himself to stand up for what the reality of this situation was. He wasn't fearful of the princes. He would stand up to them because he was a straightforward, honest Scotsman.

Would it be fair to say that Osborne House already felt like it was in mourning before she died?

I don't think it was jolly. She was in a wheelchair, she couldn't see, she had cataracts. It must have been very, very difficult. It's interesting that James Reid never gave her a physical examination in her whole life, so whatever treatment he gave her was with verbal directions, which is really strange. He'd never seen her in bed until the very end. It must have been dour. She had already lost three children, so that must have been pretty tough for her.



The politicians of the time seemed very concerned about her not being available to conduct the business of the day. What matters would she have needed to attend to?

Well, they do say that the courts couldn't sit without her authority and appointments couldn't be made without her having signed them. And of course, they had that before when George IV was

Queen Victoria insisted on white being the primary colour of her funeral, which along with the military presence during the processions would have actually made it quite a colourful affair



The Queen's Last Journey

Victoria's path to burial was carefully planned, but not without mishaps

1 February, Osborne House, Isle Of Wight

A short service is held at Osborne House with the family of Queen Victoria before the coffin is placed on a gun carriage to begin its journey.

The queen's coffin is taken by carriage to the HMV Alberta at Trinity Pier on the River Medina where it would be transported across the Solent to Gosport, Portsmouth, passing the British fleet on the way, lining the journey from Cowes to Portsmouth as it fired a salute. Vessels from Germany and France were also present to see the queen off.

The Alberta is lead by six torpedo destroyers.

2 February, Portsmouth

The coffin of the queen is loaded onto a train at Portsmouth to be taken to Victoria Station in London.

Green wreaths have been placed on 800 lampposts along the route, following a suggestion by one Etta Close from Eaton Square, covering the 3.5 miles between the stations.

The procession passes by Buckingham palace, Hyde Park and Marble Arch, supported by members of every branch of the military, the gun carriage drawn by white horses and the coffin itself draped in white and gold silks. Arriving at Paddington, the coffin is placed in Queen Victoria's Royal carriage to be conveyed to Windsor along with members of her family and dignitaries.

From Windsor Station the procession begins again from the station, down High Street and Park Street before finally pausing the journey at St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle.

Along the way the horses began acting up and sailors ended up pulling the gun carriage themselves, a suggestion made by Prince Louis of Battenberg and taken up by Sir Frederick Ponsonby.

3 February, Windsor

A service is held for the royal family and invited guests at St George's Chapel.

4 February, Windsor

The procession begins anew with the gun carriage to Frogmore Mausoleum, built at the request of Queen Victoria herself for her late husband Prince Albert. Above the doors were inscribed, "Vale Desideratissime. Farewell most beloved. Here at length I shall rest with thee, with thee in Christ I shall rise again."

Curtain Down At Her Majesty's

ill, there's a bit in the book where they found a rubber stamp, an autograph stamp, of the king's signature. But the queen really wanted to be in charge. Right up to the very end she was still having audiences with people like Lord Roberts and Joseph Chamberlain.

People say it was probably because she was very anxious about Bertie taking over the throne, although he actually turned out to be a rather good king, she was very fearful there would be a regency. So, I think that affected the way that the government was too.

There seems to have been a lot of confusion around who should be in charge of the funeral arrangements. Why was that?

The thing is that prior to that all royal monarch funerals had been private affairs and happened at night. They were candle-lit. There were no state funerals or processions through London. They were just quiet affairs in St George's Chapel.

I think she probably anticipated that things would be a bit chaotic, so she left very clear instructions about what she wanted to happen, one of which was that she wanted a military funeral to honour her father who she didn't know. That took everybody by surprise, because when she died, one of the first suggestions was for a sea procession to bring her all the way from Osborne House to the steps of Westminster by boat, which is a nice idea. But that's not what she wanted.

There's an odd moment in the book in the House of Commons where they're squabbling after the funeral about

how they weren't given a proper place to stand.

Outrageous. It was outrageous. And there are other bits like that. The whingeing all the time. That will happen this time, I can tell you. The thing about previous royal funerals, the government played a more prominent part, but because this was a military one the Privy Council and the government were really sidelined, but that was the queen's wish. I love all of that, the complaining about things like the size of the black border on the stationery and this sort of thing. I think it's great, but hardly proper.

Immediately after Victoria's death you have one journalist complaining about other lower-class writers running through the streets shouting that the Queen was dead, which reminded us a little of how social media might react.

Absolutely and they were dashing to the only public telephone, which was at the harbour, hoping to get the message through. But also, the guy who wrote that account, the *Times* journalist, there was a bit of sour grapes on his part, because he had nipped off for an hour and he was coming back. Of course news had broken and all of the people were passing him. He hadn't gotten the news so then he wrote this article blaming the people of the lesser publications for being so vulgar, but of course he had missed what was the great moment because he'd been off having a cigarette or something.

Having found all of these sources and all of these voices, do you feel that you

"It was an immense shock to the country and I think there was the feeling that it was the end of an era"

have a good sense of the impact Queen Victoria's death had on Britain and the wider world?

I think it's pretty self-evident and I would suspect it won't be dissimilar when our queen passes away. She was kind of a symbol of security. That kind of continuity and stability that she gave to the country, she had overseen a great period of change, social, industrial and all of that. It was an immense shock to the country and I think there was the feeling that it was the end of an era. I think they were genuinely fearful of what was going to happen in the future.

They were ambivalent about the new king, about Edward VII, and Henry James called him an arch vulgarian. I think that's how people viewed him, he didn't have a good press. People were really shocked that she had died. People did really expect her to go on forever. People were frightened and worried about what this great change was going to bring in. And it was a new century. They started the centuries properly in those days with 1901 being just the beginning.

Her Final Requests

Queen Victoria had specific instructions for what should be placed in her coffin on the occasion of her death



Dressed in white

Victoria was clear that she was to wear white and have a white veil over her face, not black. It is noted in the recollections of many who attended that with the military in their traditional colours and many of the royal men in uniform also, only the princesses wore black to the funeral and stood out as a result.



Many rings

As well as her wedding ring, a diamond guard ring, and a ring that was a gift from her mother, Victoria had many other rings of varied significance. She particularly noted her engagement ring with an emerald in the head of a golden snake, which she said matched one Albert was also buried with that she gave to him.



Remembering Albert

As well as her wedding and engagement rings and other gifts of jewellery that Albert had given Victoria, she wished for a cast of his hand to be buried with her. She also wanted one of his pocket handkerchiefs, a dressing gown and cloak worked for him by their second daughter, Princess Alice buried with her.



Remembering John Brown

Victoria asked for a number of items relating to her good friend John Brown. She asked for a gold wedding ring to be buried with her that had belonged to Brown's own mother and she had worn since his death. She also asked for a photo of Brown in a leather case with his hair to be placed in her hand.

The Death Of Queen Victoria



The royal yacht carrying Queen Victoria from the Isle Of Wight to Portsmouth was met along the way by several vessels, mostly British but also some showing support from nations around Europe who wanted to send the monarch off in style.



Victoria's long journey to Windsor continued having passed through London and the coffin was loaded onto her royal train. She had been the first British monarch to travel by train when she took a Great Western Railway train from Slough to Paddington.



Many of the requests made by Queen Victoria for her funeral have since become mainstays of not only royal funerals, but also processions for other significant public figures, with the coffin being drawn on a gun carriage being a notable example

St George's Chapel, Windsor, had been the site of many of the weddings Victoria's children and had been greatly renovated during her reign



© Getty Images

Do you feel that the process of putting this book together has changed your impression of Queen Victoria?

Well, I grew quite fond of her, to be honest. I liked her before, when I read the *Highland Journals*, I really warmed to her. She's quite human and she had this 'We are not amused' thing, but I think all the stuff that I read about her, she was a really human person. She was quite kind. She may have been a bit of a stickler for order and wouldn't let people smoke in the house and liked the houses to be freezing, but she did really come across as quite compassionate to me.

I think that's projected in the people who were closest to her. Those who were close to her were completely devoted to her and for little reward for being that devoted. There was no financial reward really of any note. They were just devoted to her as a woman. And she did have what our current queen has, which is an enormous sense of duty

and that's what everybody whined about Edward VII, that he wouldn't have this sense of duty and he would want to carry on with his old life. But he did say pretty famously that he would have liked to have been king ten years earlier because he was 60, but he rose to the challenge. I think he was an excellent monarch, actually. He was really good.

Were there any other stories that really struck you or really stood out as you did the research?

I was rather surprised that the pope wouldn't send anybody to the funeral and that he wouldn't sanction officially for a mass to be said for the queen. I thought that and the debate that followed was really strange, because the queen was rather ambivalent about the church.

When they prepared her on the bed, she had a crucifix and she always carried a crucifix with her, which is not very C of E. The fact that the funeral

cost £4.5 million in modern money was very interesting as well.

The idea that any state or institution would refuse to send a representative nowadays would be shocking too.

It was a big snub, but I suppose the Roman Catholic Church was still grumpy about Henry VIII splitting away. But the key bit for me was reading this private detail of having the locket of John Brown, with his hair, in her left hand. That was to be done without the knowledge of her family, which is what John Reid did. He did it as the very last act, before the lid was screwed down on the coffin, he placed it in her hand. Whether it implies anything one doesn't know, but she left it as a secret task for him to do and I think I'm right in saying it wasn't revealed until Michaela Reid's book in 1996, so it was a well kept secret. That drew me in. I was really surprised at that.



GRAVEYARD OF THE EMPERORS

The Ming dynasty was born in violence and fell in violence, but for 270 years, the tombs of its emperors exemplified wealth and stability

Written by John Man



The Ming dynasty arose from a revolt against foreign rule when Chinese rebels threw out the Mongols in 1368. The Mongol emperors were buried in their northern homeland, Mongolia.

But their successors from the Chinese heartland restored the ancient tradition of being buried in state near their capital, Beijing. Though damaged by the Manchus when they seized power in 1644, the Ming Tombs have been restored, and now form one of China's greatest heritage sites.

Since seizing all of China in 1279, the Mongols had ruled as the Yuan dynasty for almost a century. But they never belonged; none of their rulers mastered Chinese and they despised and feared their subjects.

Mongol rule depended on power, upheld with ever-stricter laws and ever-fiercer punishments as chaos and violence spread. In 1331, the plague ravaged parts of China; famine followed; people fled their villages; the Yellow River broke its banks, drowning thousands and setting a new course to the sea; and in the plague-ravaged, flood-torn lowlands, rebels known as Red Turbans began to rip at the empire's decaying flanks. Three of the

main Red Turban groups, all controlling sections of the Yangtze, rivalled each other for the crown.

One of these was led by Zhu Yuanzhang, the Yuan's nemesis and the most extraordinary man of the age, with odd, craggy features - large nose, big ears, bushy eyebrows and a prominent bulge on his skull. As a boy, he was given to a temple and became a monk, begging his way around, living in grim conditions.

He survived the famine of 1344 on grass and tree bark. In 1351, open rebellion started as peasants seized granaries to get at the grain and battered down jails to free prisoners. The following year, Zhu, aged 24, joined in and quickly rose to power, gathering an army of 20,000-30,000. He built a team of scholarly advisers, winning a reputation for brilliance, idealism, discipline and vision. From destitute villager to monk, to field captain and successful general, his rise was astonishing.

Zhu began to see himself as an emperor-in-waiting. After disposing of his greatest Red Turban rival in 1363, he spun his image away from other rebels, with their reputation as warlords, and chose a new title for his future dynasty: Ming.



THE THREE OPEN TOMBS

Of the 13 tombs, only three are open to the public – and only one has been properly excavated

CHANGLING



Work started on this in 1409, when the 49-year-old Yongle had been on the throne for seven years. It remains the largest of the tombs. Steps lead up a

three-storey marble base to the Blessing and Grace Palace, where sacrifices were made to the emperor and his empress Xu. This huge hall, 67 metres long, is the only tomb palace from the Ming Dynasty, unique also in that it is made of camphor wood. One of its 16 pillars is 13 metres high and over one metre wide. A fine bronze statue of the emperor has him sitting on a throne. Exhibits recall his achievements, notably building the Forbidden City and despatching admiral Zheng He in seven great voyages of discovery.

DINGLING



Dingling is the only Ming tomb to have been excavated. The excavations in 1956-58 revealed a 400-metre-long tunnel leading to five vaulted halls, the

largest of which contains the three coffins of the Emperor Wanli and his two empresses. The 18-hectare tomb was started in 1584 when the emperor was 21 – the 12th year of his reign – and took six years to build. The site, like others, is square at the front and round at the back, symbolising the shapes of Earth and heaven in Chinese philosophy. Three marble bridges lead to three courtyards, but the most important part is underground, where a few of the items discovered are on display, including the emperor's golden crown.

ZHAOLING



This is the tomb of Longqing, the 12th emperor of the Ming Dynasty. He died in 1572, at 35 years old, after reigning for six years. His rule was

noted both for his initial drive against corruption and for his later dissolute ways. The Gate of Blessing and Grace leads to a square enclosure, beyond which is the palace of the same name, – a long, low building with a double roof. Inside are displays recalling the life and times of the Ming emperor, his empresses and the history of his rule. Behind the palace is a circular yard. This is where the emperor and his two empresses were buried, in an unopened mound that, contrary to normal practice, is set right against the rear wall.

Intelligence, high ideals and good management paid off and Zhu seized Nanjing, which he declared his capital. Then on 9 September 1368, his general, Xu Da, arrived in Beijing. The Mongol emperor, Toghon Temur, saw the game was up and fled, taking his family, his household and a few guards with him. Five days later, Xu Da took the city against very little resistance.

Thousands of Mongols streamed back to the northern grasslands and named themselves the Northern Yuan, in the vain hope of returning south. The Yuan dynasty ended, and the Ming took over, with Zhu as the first emperor. The Zhu family inherited a vast estate – some 200 million people, one-third of the world's population – and there was no civilisation to touch it for wealth, artistry or military power. Zhu, reigning as the Hongwu Emperor, could afford a large tomb, built by 100,000 labourers, in his first capital, Nanjing.

But Beijing was the true seat of power. His second-in-line heir, the Yongle Emperor, secured the throne by overthrowing his nephew, who vanished – an unsolved mystery – and had no tomb. Determined to eradicate all records of his predecessor, Yongle purged his court and government of bureaucrats, and ruled with an iron hand for 22 years.

He spent his reign amassing power and wealth, including rebuilding the Forbidden City as the centre of his government, financing a series of voyages of exploration that took Chinese ships to Africa and creating his massive tomb, the first of the 13 Ming tombs that lie 40-50 kilometres to the north west of Beijing. The 120-square-kilometre site was chosen according to the traditional principles of feng shui – wind and water. An

approach road, seven kilometres long, leads through a great arch onto 'Spirit Way' – an ornate road made up of 18 pairs of stone statues including bureaucrats, camels, lions and elephants, some recumbent in obeisance. According to folklore, they were slid into position in winter, pushed along an ice-road that was made by spraying water on the roadway.

Yongle died in 1424 after a fruitless campaign into Mongolia and was buried in his mausoleum. No one knows what or who he was buried with, as excavation was banned in the 1950s by the communist government on the grounds that the grave was too important to risk opening.

After Yongle, all 12 of the later Ming emperors were buried in this valley, fanning out on either side of his tomb, separated by up to two kilometres. All have their own approaches, and most are now somewhat overgrown.

The Ming era was, on the whole, both prosperous and peaceful, experiencing just one notorious lapse. The Ming remained obsessed with their predecessors, the Mongols, and spent much of the nation's wealth firstly on campaigns to suppress them and then on building and rebuilding the Great Wall in stone (it had been ignored by the Mongols, since they ruled on both sides of it). Their main inspiration to build was an incident in 1449, when the sixth emperor, Zhengtong, was persuaded to lead a campaign against the Mongols, only to get himself captured.

The Mongols had no idea how to take advantage of this stunning victory, and released their prisoner. By then the throne had been taken by his brother, who was forced out in 1457, when Zhengtong resumed office.

Spirit Way is guarded on either side by a number of statues including horses, camels, lions and elephants



Graveyard of the Emperors

“The Ming era was, on the whole, both prosperous and peaceful, experiencing just one notorious lapse”



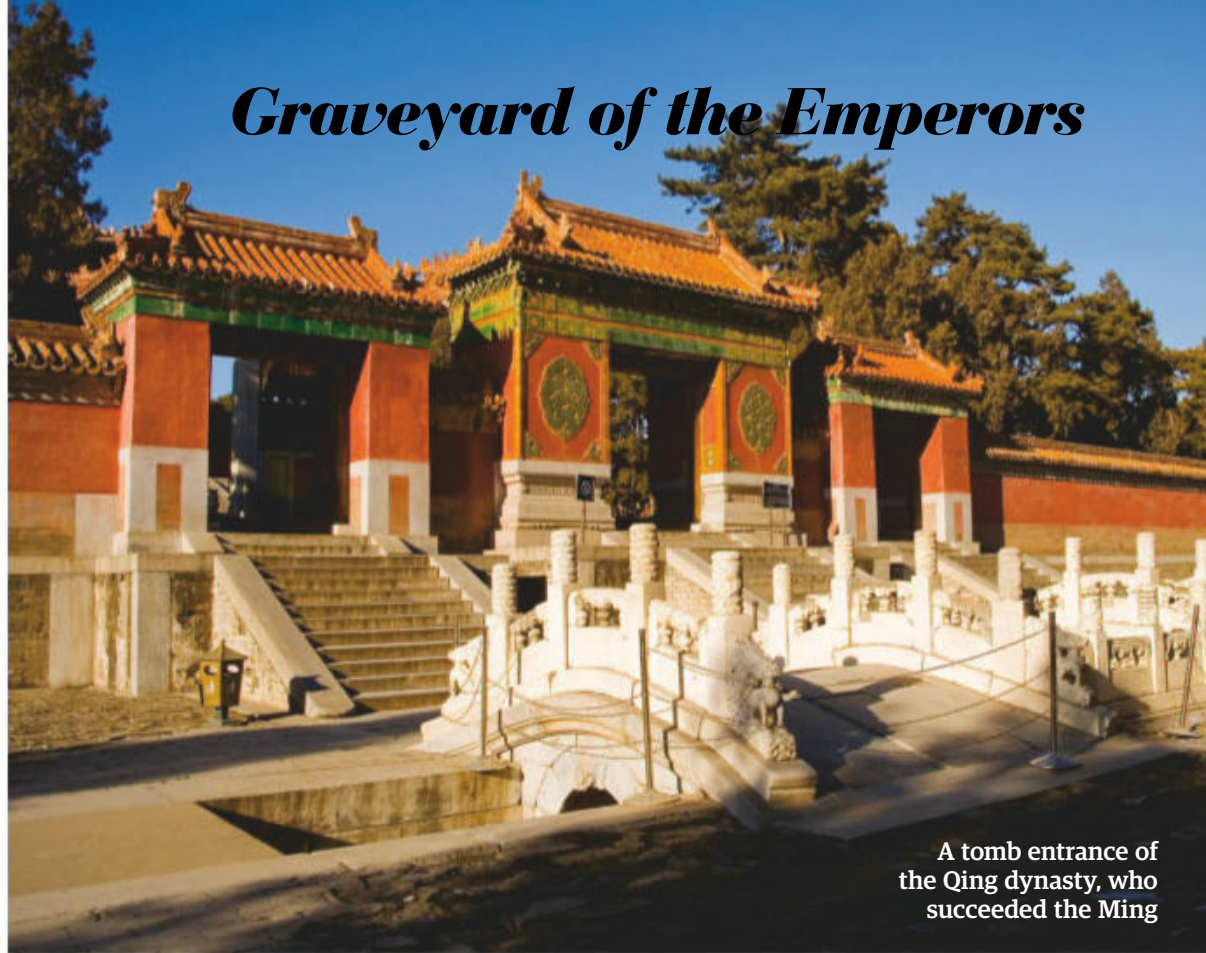
Perhaps the most intriguing of the Ming emperors was Wanli, who ruled for 48 years (1572-1620), the longest reign in the dynasty. In that time, he had eight sons and ten daughters by his wife and 16 concubines. Though effective when young, he became bitterly unhappy with palace life, which left him at the mercy of rituals and his disputatious bureaucrats.

For 15 years, he and his government could not agree on an heir: he wanted his third son by his favourite concubine, but was forced to back down. In protest, he went on strike, refusing to have anything to do with administration, leaving it all to his officials, so that when he died the government was virtually paralysed - as was he, as in old age he became so obese he needed help to stand up. His tomb, known as Dingling after its nearby village, is the dynasty's second biggest.

In the late 1950s, the communist government switched their attention away from the Yongle Emperor's tomb to focus on Wanli's. Its contents were made into a museum, which was severely damaged during the Cultural Revolution ten years later. One finding made during the excavation work suggested that the emperor had become addicted to opium, which, if true,



The three emperors for whom the Changling, Dingling and Zhaoling tombs were built



A tomb entrance of the Qing dynasty, who succeeded the Ming



The complex includes many ornate structures, like this silk burning stove



would surely have contributed to his eventual decision to withdraw from government, and thus to the national decline.

By the time of his death, the Ming were facing a serious problem in the north east, one that would eventually cause their downfall. They had re-built the Great Wall to keep out not only the Mongols but also another northern tribe - the Jurchens, soon to be re-titled as the Manchus, after whom Manchuria is named. They had become a nation-at-arms, with China as their target. In 1619, they advanced to the north-eastern wall, which ran from mountains, across a plain to the great coastal fortress of Shanhaiguan. A year later, the Jurchen leader, Hung Taiji, declared himself ruler of a new dynasty, Qing, choosing a Chinese name to reflect his ambitions for conquest.

At this point, a new character entered the story, "the Dashing Prince" (as he called himself), a bandit named Li Zicheng. He rose to infamy and fortune in what is now north-central China, where Ming oppression sparked widespread resentment. Warlords arose, Li Zicheng being the most successful. Ordinary people flocked to join him,

swelling his army to 400,000. In April 1644, he was at the walls of Beijing.

In Beijing's Forbidden City, the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen, was in an agony of indecision. Grief-stricken after the death of his favourite consort, Tian, and four of his sons, he replaced ministers every few weeks, to no effect.

Meanwhile, in the east, a general named Hong Chengchou had been drafted in to fight the Manchus, but a Chinese assault north of the Great Wall led to catastrophe. An army of 130,000 was defeated and Hong surrendered to the Manchus. By now the Manchu leader Hung Taiji had died, being succeeded by a five-year-old, with the dead emperor's younger brother, Prince Dorgon, in command.

A few days later, Li Zicheng made his move on Beijing. It was a walkover. Scaling ladders and mines were enough to clear a section of the city walls, and defectors opened a gate into the outer city, leaving only the older walls of the Imperial Palace City holding them back. Inside the palace, the emperor climbed a low hill to see the smoke from the burning city. The sight unhinged him.

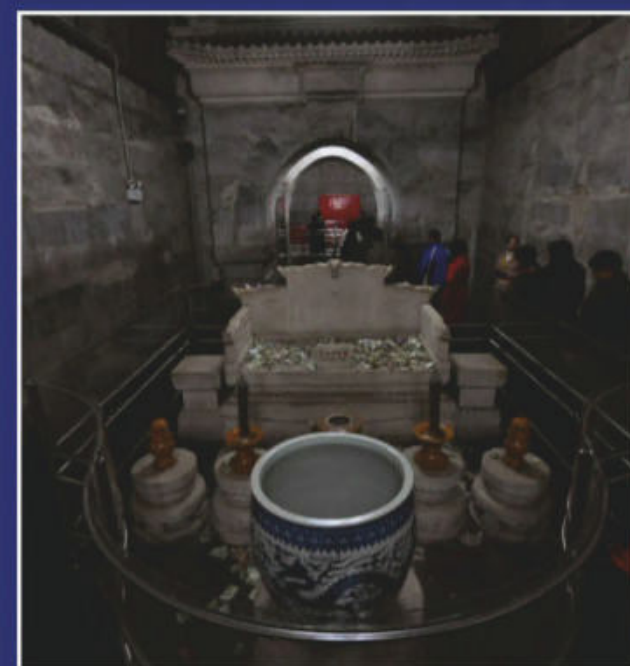
EXCAVATING A MING TOMB

The Dingling tomb was among the earliest excavations by the fledgling communist government, with extremely variable results

In the mid-1950s, only six years after the revolution that brought Mao's communists to power, the eminent scholar and writer Guo Moruo suggested the excavation of Changling, the tomb of the Yongle Emperor, the largest and oldest of the Ming tombs. Moruo, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, carried authority, but archaeologists were nervous, given the importance of Changling, and instead focused on Dingling, the third largest tomb, as a trial site prior to excavating Changling.

The work, undertaken in 1956-57 by the Beijing Institute of Archaeology, revealed that grave robbers had tried to enter the tomb but failed. The first job was to find the tomb's wall and the door. Fortunately, the original builders had left a stele with instructions on where the wall was to be found. It turned out to be 27 metres underground. The door had an ingenious lock designed to fall into place when the door was closed, but the team were able to lever it off its hinges. Inside the undisturbed tomb they found a dry marble vault protecting three skeletons - the Wanli Emperor and his two empresses - and 3,000 items of silk, textiles, wood, and porcelain. But Chinese archaeology was in its infancy, and the authorities wanted quick results - too quick in fact. The scientists did not have the means to preserve what they had found, or record them properly. Many items, including a large amount of silk, were put into a leaky, drafty storeroom. As a result, many were damaged. When a museum was opened in 1959, it could show only a few items and some replicas.

The experience was a sharp lesson in how not to excavate. Since then, there has been no attempt to open up any of the remaining Ming Tombs, including the main tomb of Changling.



The Shengong Shengde Stele Pavilion, close to the Spirit Way at the site of the 13 Ming Tombs



A statue of the Yongle Emperor inside the Lingen gate at Changling tomb, part of the site near Beijing



A German picture of high jinx on the Spirit Way taken in or around 1902



The Spirit Way in a more neglected state in the early 20th century

“He decided to save his dozens of daughters from being raped by killing them”



He went back inside and told his wife to commit suicide. Having downed enough wine to make himself drunk, he decided to save his dozens of daughters and concubines from being raped by killing them. This he tried to do by stabbing them. Lunging incompetently at the screaming women, he wounded several, but failed to kill any of them.

That night, Li's troops broke into the inner city and advanced on the palace. At dawn on 25 May, the emperor, dressed in golden silk as if for an audience, climbed back up the little hill and hanged himself from the beams of a pavilion, the name of which, ironically, was the Pavilion of Imperial Longevity. While hundreds of his staff committed suicide, his body was secretly cut down and hidden nearby.

The next day, Li Zicheng, riding a black horse, led a procession into the palace. He could not complete his revolution, because looting and killing had plunged Beijing into anarchy. But he did order a search for the emperor's body at least, which when found was placed in the tomb of his favourite concubine, Tian. This is in an obscure corner of the Ming Tombs site, called Siling,

part of the so-called concubine tombs. This explains why the last Ming emperor has no tomb to match his predecessors.

The truly decisive events leading to the end of the Ming were unfolding at Shanhaiguan. The Ming general, Wu Sangui, was in a quandary. His much-loved concubine, Yuanyuan, was in war-torn Beijing, the Manchus were pressing on the Wall and Li Zicheng was now on his way to crush him. He needed help, and the only help available would come from the Manchus. He wrote to Prince Dorgon, suggesting temporary co-operation to restore peace. Dorgon, of course, had nothing to lose, and an empire to gain.

Wu opened the gates of Shanhaiguan. Dorgon's troops poured through. The fort's massive two-ton cannon, cast only the previous year, never saw action, and still stands on the battlements as a memorial to a battle that never was.

There are many gaps in this story. Is Wu a hero for opposing Li, who caused the death of an emperor? Or a villain for allowing the Manchus in? Or a hero for the same act - an agent of heaven, perhaps - given that the Manchus created a new dynasty? And what happened to the beautiful concubine, Yuanyuan?

Ultimately, Li was driven insane by the change in his fortunes. To have toppled the Ming only to be toppled himself, all in six weeks, was just too much. He set fire to the palace, grabbed what treasure he could and fled, leaving the shattered city to the Manchus.





The Battle Of Montgisard
by Charles-Philippe
Larivière shows Baldwin IV
commanding from his chair



BATTLE OF MONTGISARD

HOLY LAND, CENTRAL ISRAEL, 25 NOVEMBER, 1177

Written by Murray Dahm

The battle of Montgisard saw the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem unexpectedly defeat the forces of Saladin. The Latins were vastly outnumbered and fought thinking that they faced certain defeat. Their victory put an end to the inexorable advances that the Muslim conqueror Saladin had won.

We are fortunate to have several sources for the battle, from both Christian and Muslim perspectives. We may even have eyewitnesses in the form of William of Tyre, the King of Jerusalem's biographer, and Arabic sources who interviewed Saladin (Bahā al-Dīn and Imād al-Dīn).

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, founded at the conclusion of the First Crusade in 1099, was always in a precarious position. It was surrounded by Muslim enemies and suffered from a lack of resources and support from its Christian allies, both in Europe and the Byzantine Empire. The rise of Saladin in Egypt and Syria in the 1170s was a threat that could not be ignored. Saladin rose to power as a vizier of Fatimid Egypt. He then abolished the Fatimid Caliphate in 1171 eventually replacing it with

Battle of Montgisard



his own Ayyubid dynasty. He campaigned in Syria taking Damascus, Hama and Homs to expand his empire. From his earliest military appointments in Egypt, Saladin had been at war with the Crusader states and the Byzantine Empire.

In 1174 the new King of Jerusalem was the 14-year-old Baldwin IV. He had already been diagnosed with leprosy and so this was a crisis in itself. For the first two years of his reign he ruled under a regent, Count Raymond III of Tripoli, but Baldwin proved himself vigorous, capable and courageous. An amphibious invasion of Egypt was planned for 1177. In June the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, provided galleys to sail from Acre with a force of Crusaders. Troops would be supplied from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Tripoli, and the religious orders of the Knights Templar and Hospitaller. The Count of Flanders, Philip I, Baldwin's cousin, was also embarking on a crusade to the Holy Land to take part in the expedition. He landed in August and unexpectedly refused to embark for Egypt (or to take the offered Regency of Jerusalem). Instead Philip decided to accompany Raymond of

Tripoli's expedition to attack the Muslim stronghold of Hama (also called Harim) in northern Syria. The Hospitallers, a large number of Templars, and 100 knights from Jerusalem went with them.

This left the Kingdom of Jerusalem with very few troops to defend its various territories. Saladin was informed of the expedition north and lost no time in organising a raid of his own. William of Tyre, in his *Deeds Done Beyond The Sea* (21.20) tells us that Saladin, "assembled troops in great numbers from all sources and caused them to be equipped even better than usual with arms and all manner of things commonly used in warfare. Then with this army he marched out of Egypt."

This vague account is supplemented later (21.23) by William telling us he made "careful investigation" (suggesting he was present) and that he, "found that twenty-six thousand light-armed cavalry, in addition to others mounted on camels and beasts of burden, had entered our territory. Of these, eight thousand belonged to those splendid soldiers called in their own language toassin; the other eighteen thousand were the common knights known as carnagoles."

These were the tawāshī heavy cavalry and qaraghulāmīs (cavalry horse archers). These numbers, however, are suspect and may include servants (each warrior could be accompanied by up to 100 servants, some of whom must have fought). Another source claims that there were 12,000 cavalry in Saladin's invasion (another source claims 12,000 cavalry and 9,000 Arabs).

William also tells us that, "A thousand of the most valiant knights acted as a bodyguard to Saladin. All these wore yellow silk over their breastplates, the colour that Saladin himself bore."

Saladin marched to al-Arish, and left his heavy baggage there. His raid was going to be rapid and he intended to plunder the countryside for what he did not bring with him. Saladin crossed into the Latin kingdom on 18 November and advanced rapidly north towards Gaza. Baldwin had learned of Saladin's invasion and had, "hurriedly mustered the forces still left in the kingdom... their numbers including all ranks and conditions, were barely three hundred and seventy five." William of Tyre (21.22). This is very low but reinforces the idea that



A 19th century engraving of the Battle of Montgisard showing the Crusaders cutting a swathe through Saladin's forces



Christians battle Saracens under Saladin, from the *Historia* by William of Tyre

Baldwin's army was vastly outnumbered. Estimates for Baldwin's foot troops range from 3,000-4,000.

Saladin bypassed Gaza although a garrison of all available Knights Templar had been summoned there to dissuade him from attacking it. William of Tyre tells us that there were only 80 Templars, revealing just how denuded of troops the Kingdom of Jerusalem were.

Saladin advanced on Ascalon, but Baldwin's troops were already there and the king had rushed to the city with his hastily mustered army to reach it before Saladin. Baldwin drew up his forces outside Ascalon but did not offer battle although some single combats took place between the two sides. This gave Saladin confidence that Baldwin would not meet him in open battle and so, the following day, he sent contingents of his forces out to ravage the countryside. One of Saladin's commanders burned Ramla and surrounded Lydda. Learning of these activities, Baldwin determined to fight and summoned the Templars from Gaza. William of Tyre (21.22) summarises that Baldwin, "immediately directed all his forces, both cavalry and infantry, in all their martial array against him. He was joined by the brethren of the Knights Templars who had

remained at Gaza, and together, with ranks in battle formation, they prepared to meet the foe." From there it is probable that Baldwin's forces shadowed Saladin's march although other modern historians suggest he marched north and then swung inland so as not to be detected by Saladin. The army probably marched to Ibelin. Balian of Ibelin was with the army and it made a good staging point. It is also difficult to reconcile the distances and possible locations of the battle with a march from Ascalon.

The following day, scouts from Ibelin located Saladin crossing a valley. We are told that the Muslim forces had trouble with their baggage crossing a river there. This could have been plunder since the heavy baggage was left behind. The entire army was led out, most probably with Raynald leading it into battle rather than Baldwin.

William of Tyre's account of the deployment of Baldwin's forces does not, at first glance, seem particularly useful (21.22), "they nonetheless drew up their forces in battle array and arranged their lines according to military rules, disposing in proper order those who were to make the first attack and the reserves who were to come to their aid." We can use this account, however, to surmise that he

probably deployed them in the standard array of three divisions of 'battles' and that the knights were in front with the infantry behind. Some modern accounts of the battle cannot accept the low numbers provided by William of Tyre and suggest that Baldwin had 500 knights Templar present in addition to 500 of his own. William of Tyre (21.22) provides the number of 80 Templars and, since he seems to have been present, his low number is to be preferred. This would have given Baldwin 450 knights in total - a very small number indeed (but one which accords with the idea that Saladin attacked when Baldwin had been weakened by the number of men sent north). It also reinforces just how desperate Baldwin's situation was. If we accept the low numbers for the Kingdom of Jerusalem's forces, this would mean each battle had 150 knights and 1,000-1,300 infantry.

Saladin was caught completely by surprise. Since Baldwin had not offered battle at Ascalon, it was understandable that he would think himself safe. He was mistaken. Saladin's men blew trumpets and banged drums attempting to recall the men sent away (either foraging or to plunder the locality).

We also hear of men fetching armour and weapons from the baggage train, reinforcing just how surprised Saladin was as Baldwin's army advanced. William of Tyre's account of the battle itself is brief (21.23), "The ranks of fighters on both sides now gradually approached each other, and a battle ensued which was at first indecisive, but the forces were very unequal. The Christians, however, strengthened by the grace shed upon them from on high, soon began to press on with ever-increasing boldness; Saladin's lines were broken and, after a terrible slaughter, were forced to flee."

Bahā al-Dīn's *The Rare And Excellent History Of Saladin* also offers us an account of the battle in chapter 53. We are told there that it was Raynald who commanded the Franks (not Baldwin) and this would make more sense since he was the senior commander present and the leprous Baldwin usually had to be carried by litter and had a lame



Saladin's 1,000-man Mamluk bodyguard perished to a man at Montgisard



JERUSALEM

NUMBER OF TROOPS

APPROX. **3,000-4,000**



NUMBER OF KNIGHTS

375

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

80



LEADER

KING BALDWIN IV

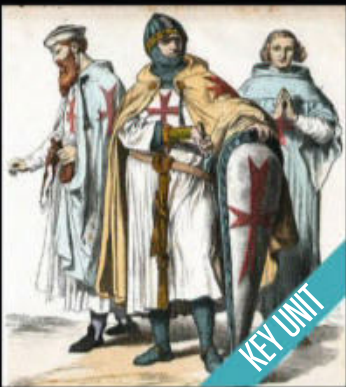
Baldwin came to the throne of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1174 as a 14 year old. Already afflicted with leprosy, he ruled until 1185.

- Determined and single minded to preserve the kingdom
- Afflicted with leprosy and just 16 years old at time of battle

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

The Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, known as the Templars, was a Catholic military order founded in 1119 to protect pilgrims in Jerusalem.

- Strong and dedicated with ample resources
- Zealous and overly combative



KEY UNIT

KNIGHTLY ARMING SWORD

The most typical weapon of the knight in the Crusades a straight, double-edged, single-handed, sword with a cross-shaped hilt.

- Slender, strong and well balanced
- One-handed and relatively short (69-81cm)



WEAPON

Battle of Montgisard



AYYUBID DYNASTY



NUMBER OF TROOPS

9,600

HEAVY CAVALRY

2,600

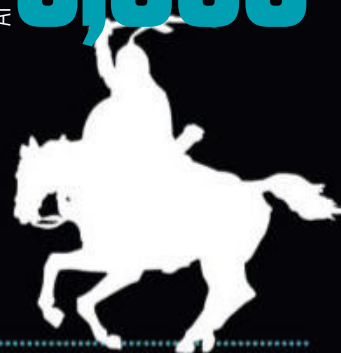
LIGHT CAVALRY

APPROX.

6,000

MAMLUK BODYGUARDS

1,000



LEADER

SALADIN

Saladin was a Kurdish Sunni Muslim, sultan of Egypt and the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty who warred against the Crusader states.

- A brilliant military leader
- Ambitious, the sheer number of rival Muslim dynasties meant an almost perpetual state of war

TAWĀSHĪ

The Tawāshi were a body of heavily armed, professional elite cavalry used in Saladin's armies.

- Heavily armed and armoured they provided a solid core to Saladin's cavalry.
- Their relative low numbers meant they could be undermined by other troop-types



KEY UNIT

SCIMITAR

Swords were just as common in Muslim armies as they were with Crusaders, the curved single-handed shamshir began to be introduced from the 9th century.

- Light and strong suited to both infantry and cavalry
- Single-edged and not well-suited for thrusting



WEAPON

right arm so the idea of him leading the army is romantic but misplaced. It is understandable that Baldwin's biographer, William, would make him the centre of his account.

The Arabic accounts give us more detail of the battle. What is more, Bahā al-Dīn tells us that he learned his information from an interview with Saladin himself. The *History Of Saladin* has, "The Muslims had drawn up for battle and when the enemy approached, some of our men decided that the right wing should cross to the left and the left cross towards the centre, in order that when the battle was joined they might have their backs to the hill known as Ramla Land. While they were occupied in this manoeuvre, the Franks charged them and God decreed their defeat."

This tactical error marries with the defeat by the Franks of a superior force but in William all credit is given to their faith. It is possible that this description gives us an idea that Saladin drew up his forces with a hill behind them and with a left and right wing (perhaps slightly forward of the centre) but when the Frank attack came, they were not yet in their new positions. Muslim tactics to blunt the charge of Frankish knights were usually to give way at the point of the charge and then surround the enemy, but both William of Tyre and the Arabic sources tell us that Saladin's horses were over-tired and had not rested. The usual tactic could not therefore be undertaken and a heavy defeat followed. Having been caught and bested, Saladin's forces broke and fled. His Mamluk bodyguard then charged and their sacrifice allowed Saladin to escape, one late source telling us he swapped his horse for a racing camel.

We find even more information in another Arabic account, Imād al-Dīn's biography of Saladin, *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, tells us of Saladin's nephew, Taqī al-Dīn, in the front lines and we get corroboration of that from other Arabic sources. Taqī al-Dīn's son, Ahmad, died charging the Franks.

The defeat was a disaster for Saladin. His forces were pursued for 12 miles according to William, being slaughtered as they fled. Thereafter Saladin's forces made their way back to Egypt piecemeal. They suffered great privations and casualties crossing the Sinai. It is estimated that Saladin lost 90 per cent of his forces. Modern accounts of the battle estimate that the Latins lost 1,100 dead and 750 wounded. William of Tyre (21.23) however, states that, "At the very beginning of the engagement, we lost four or five knights and some foot soldiers, but the exact number of these is not known."

Such a low casualty number accords with a slaughter of a surprised enemy whereas the higher numbers would represent almost 50 per cent casualties for the Latins, not a decisive victory at all.

Saladin was humbled and needed to regroup after Montgisard. The Kingdom of Jerusalem had gained a respite, but it was only that.

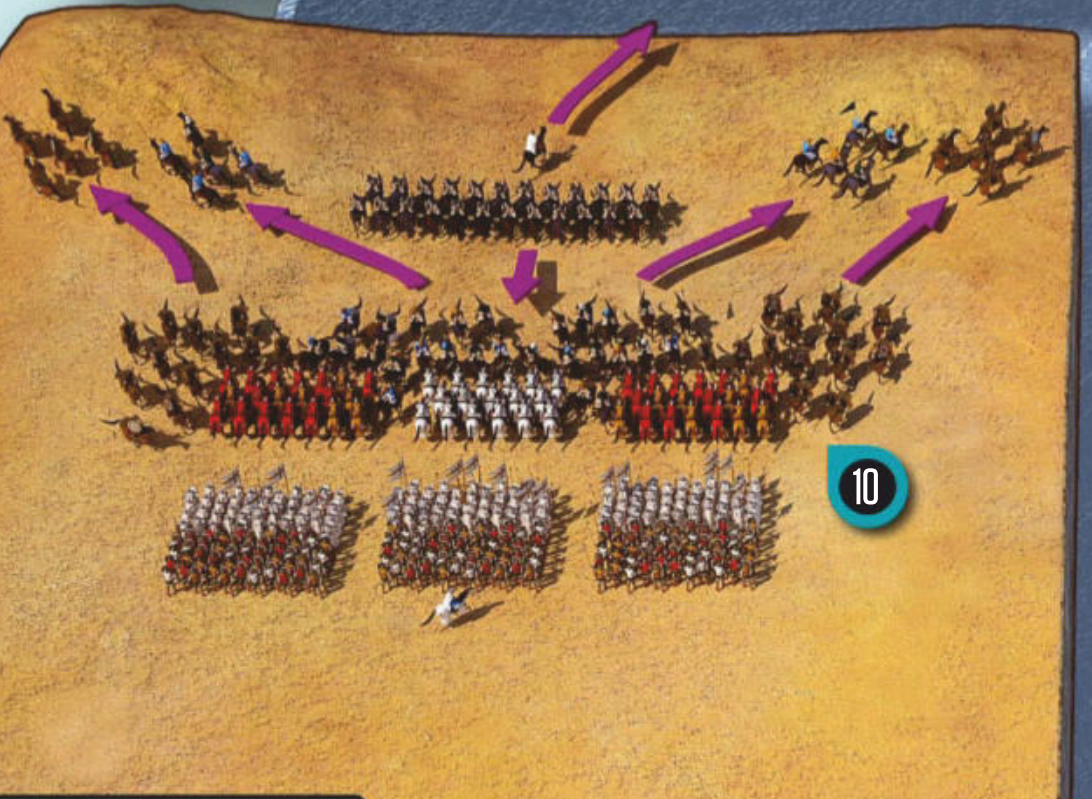
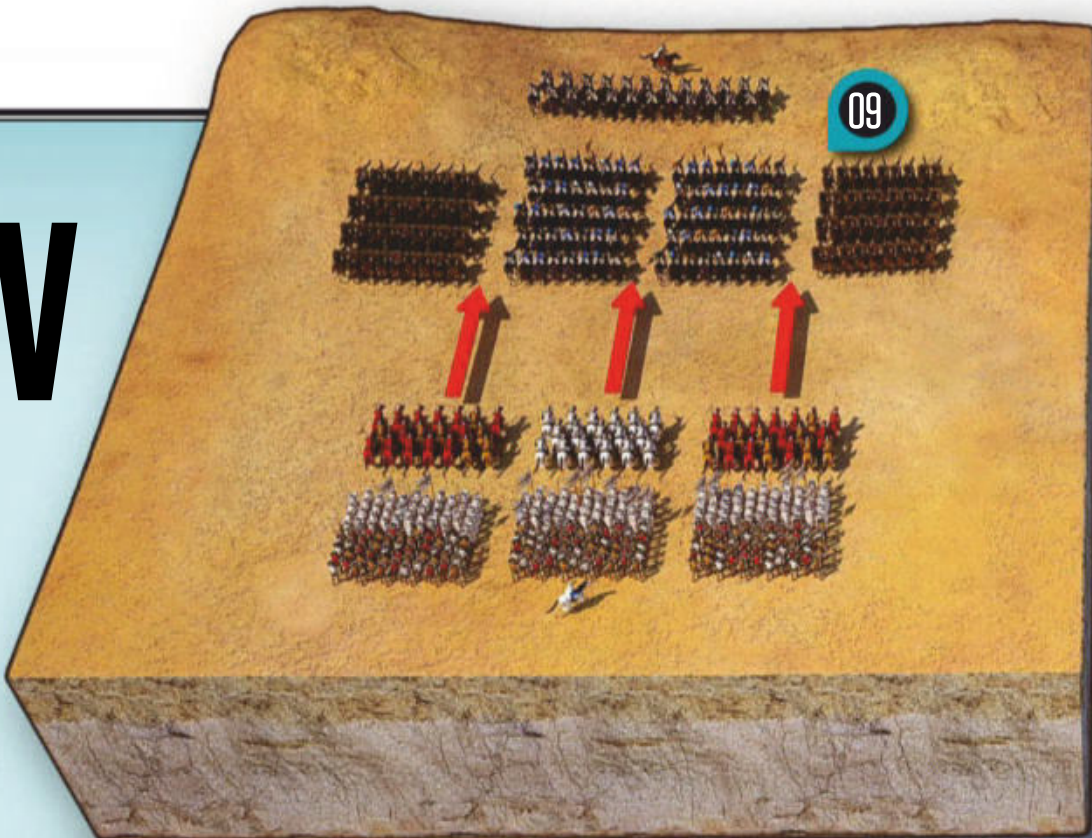
In 1187 Saladin would invade again and impose a decisive defeat on the kingdom at the Horns of Hattin and followed that up with the capture of Jerusalem itself.

25 NOV 1177

The Kingdom of Jerusalem defeats Saladin's forces in an unexpected victory

01 Invasion plans thwarted

Baldwin had intended to invade Ayyubid Egypt via an amphibious landing using the ships of the Byzantine emperor's fleet. The intention was to launch this invasion from the port of Acre but Count Philip I of Flanders, who had arrived in the Latin kingdom in August 1177, showed no enthusiasm for the plan and the scheme (and the alliance with the Byzantines) fell apart.



	Royal Domain
	Lordships
	City of the Royal Domain
	Knights available to serve King, c1180
	Seat of Lordship
	Patriarchate
	Archbishopric
	Bishopric

02 The invasion of southern Syria

Philip decided that instead of invading Egypt, he would join the campaign of Raymond III of Tripoli, against the fortress of Hama, controlled by Saladin's uncle, in Southern Syria. Baldwin sends 100 knights to support Philip's invasion and was forced to place his plans to invade Ayyubid territory on hold.



03 Saladin invades
Learning that Philip has departed and taken some of Baldwin's knights with him, Saladin invades the Kingdom of Jerusalem to raid cities, strongholds, and discover just how weakened Baldwin's forces are. He invades on 18 November with an all-cavalry force of 18,000 light and 8,000 heavy, and marches towards Gaza.

04 The Knights Templar react
The leader of the Knights Templar, Odo St Amand, sends 80 knights to the hilltop fortress at Gaza. Saladin leaves a small force to besiege them and marches on Ascalon.

05 Baldwin marches out
Baldwin is told of Saladin's destination of Ascalon and marches towards it with the forces he is able to gather. These include roughly 450 knights and 3-4,000 infantry, mostly spearmen but also including some crossbowmen. He has several key commanders: Raynald de Chatillon, Balian of Ibelin, and Count Joscelin, seneschal of Jerusalem. Also accompanying Baldwin is Bishop Albert of Bethlehem who carries the True Cross, discovered in Jerusalem in 1099.

06 Baldwin's resolve hardens
Baldwin determined to face Saladin in open battle when he learned of the destruction wrought by Saladin's march north. He sends word to Odo encouraging him to break out of Gaza and come to Ascalon with the Templars. From Ascalon the combined army marches north to the castle Ibelin, just south of Ramla. Baldwin and his commanders intended to use the castle as a base to launch an attack on Saladin.

07 Saladin splits his force
Saladin detaches various smaller forces as he continues to march north to ravage and besiege towns, leaving him with approximately 6,000 light cavalry and 2,600 heavy cavalry.

08 Saladin is detected
Soon after dawn on 25 November, Baldwin's scouts from Castle Ibelin detect a large Muslim force marching through a valley to the south. The king orders his army to prepare for battle and it deploys in three divisions. The force they face is commanded by Saladin himself and even though he has detached troops, he still outnumbers Baldwin's force by three to one. Saladin attempts to recall his contingents.

09 Baldwin advances to the attack
Reassured by Raynald and the presence of the True Cross, Baldwin immediately advanced to the attack and was able to engage the Muslim forces before they were fully deployed. The knights advanced first followed by the foot-soldiers. The knights' charge exacerbated the gaps in the Muslim lines and the infantry was able to follow up quickly and exploit the gaps created by the knights.

10 Saladin routs
The bulk of Saladin's forces suffered heavy casualties, routed and fled, leaving only his 1,000 strong Mamluk bodyguard. They charged and perished to a man to allow Saladin to escape, which he did mounting a swift camel and retreating south. The fleeing Ayyubids were pursued until nightfall.

The 'What If' Newspaper

Russia

Interview by David J Williamson

1918

THE ROMANOVS ESCAPE!

The Russian royal family has fled from the clutches of Bolshevik revolutionary forces and seeking refuge in exile

EXCLUSIVE Interview With



DR HELEN RAPPAPORT

Dr Helen Rappaport is a *Sunday Times* and *New York Times* bestselling author and historian specialising in the period 1837-1918 in late Imperial and Revolutionary Russia, and Victorian Britain. She has written 14 books covering her broad range of historical knowledge.

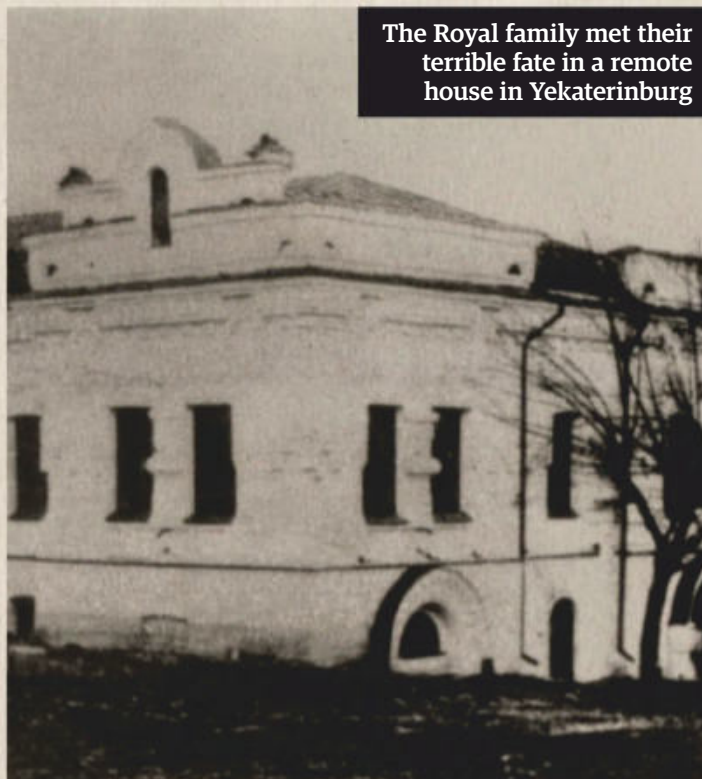
The dramatic and brutal execution of the Russian imperial family in a remote house by the Bolshevik revolutionaries in 1918 captured the world's gruesome imagination. Rumours and speculation spread in equal measure as to whether all the family had actually died, and for many years there were claims and

counter claims around the survival in particular of one of the tsar's daughters, Anastasia. With the discovery of bodies, modern techniques of DNA, and closer cooperation between east and west it was possible to finally draw a line under the family's traumatic fate. But what if things had been different and the Romanovs

had survived? How could that have happened? And what, if any, effect would it have had on the mood in Europe and events in Russia in particular?

Would they have fled the country or escaped to their supporters in Russia? If in exile where is this most

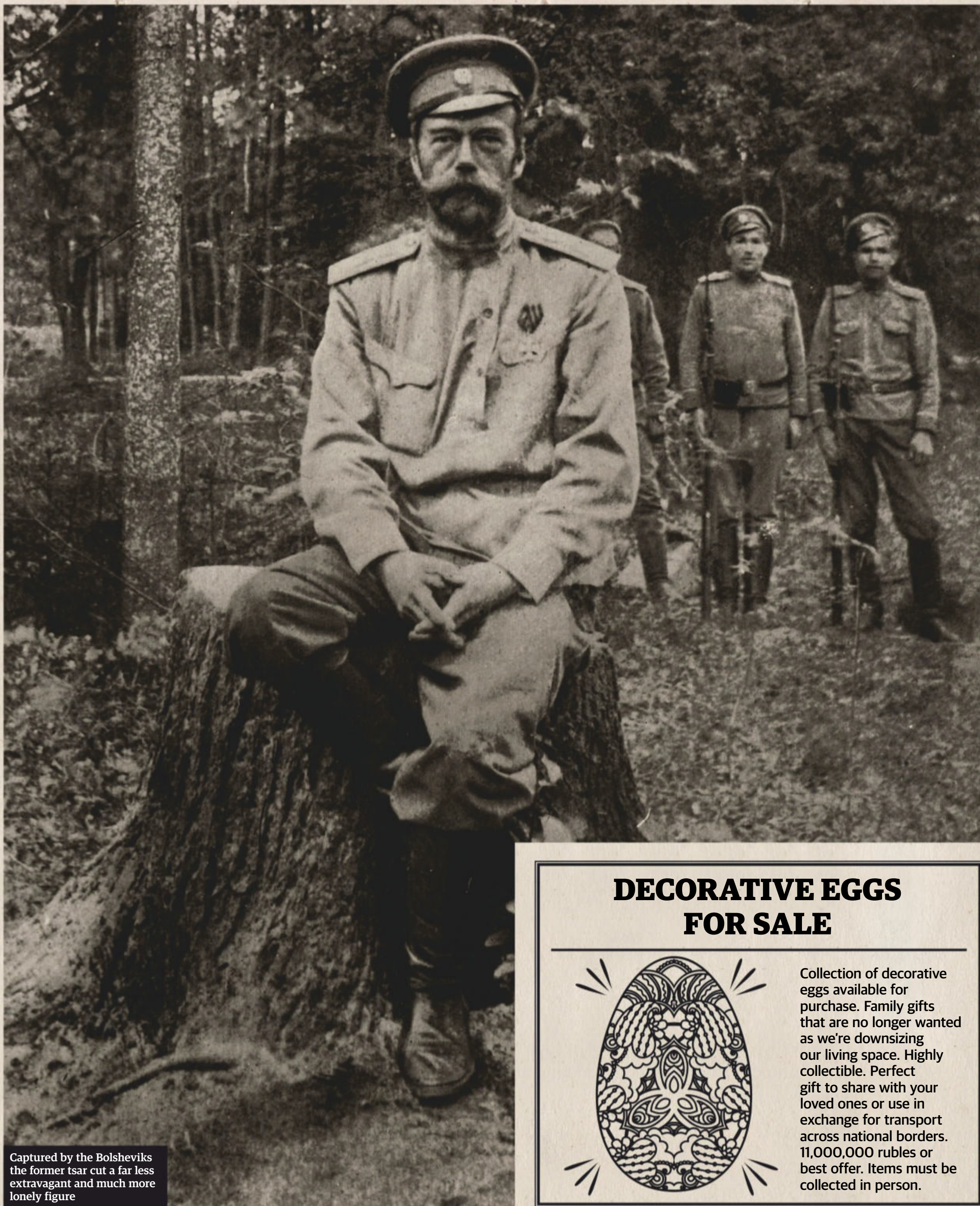
The Royal family met their terrible fate in a remote house in Yekaterinburg



MORE RIOTS AGAINST EXILED TSAR

There are reports of more riots in many of our major cities up and down the country as ordinary men and women protest against the extravagance of the Russian Royal family in exile. Whilst workers are expected to tighten their belts and make do, there is anger that the arrogance of former Tsar Nicholas and his family, having escaped the clutches of the Bolsheviks with the help of their British royal cousins, show little or no regard for the plight of the honest working man by flaunting the comfortable lifestyle afforded to them at the expense of the British taxpayer.





Captured by the Bolsheviks the former tsar cut a far less extravagant and much more lonely figure

DECORATIVE EGGS FOR SALE



Collection of decorative eggs available for purchase. Family gifts that are no longer wanted as we're downsizing our living space. Highly collectible. Perfect gift to share with your loved ones or use in exchange for transport across national borders. 11,000,000 rubles or best offer. Items must be collected in person.

WINTER PALACE WINE CELLAR APPEAL

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is calling upon patriotic workers to support the restocking of the Winter Palace wine cellar after the contents of this esteemed symbol of Russian culture and superior taste of the educated Russian worker was cruelly taken from us by counter-revolutionaries in late 1917. Rumours that the Red Army drank it all are bourgeois propaganda.



“The capture of the fleeing tsar and his family would have been a big attraction”



The Tsar's cousin King George V would have been the most likely to have helped him and his family flee the Bolsheviks

likely to have been and why?

Everything about their situation ensured that they could not possibly 'escape' out of Russia. All the elements were stacked against them in a perfect storm. The geography of the country, the distances they would have to travel virtually undetected, extremes of climate, and of course the politics of a country at war with itself in which it would have been hard to trust even the most seemingly loyal of supporters. The capture of the fleeing tsar and his family would have been a big attraction with big rewards.

The only viable exit would have been by an orderly evacuation, and this in turn would have been through detailed and perhaps protracted negotiation. If this had been effected promptly and efficiently by the British in conjunction with the Provisional Government immediately after the tsar's abdication in March 1917, and after Nicholas's return to the imperial residence at Tsarskoe Selo south of St Petersburg, the family would have gone to England, as the British had offered. But as an emperor without an empire and a family dynasty without a home it would have been extremely difficult for them.

Accommodation in some grace and favour property in London or the Home Counties owned by the British royal family may have been comfortable, and more importantly relatively safe. But their financial circumstances would have been extremely grim by their standards, and to even think of how to pay for their lifestyle would have been alien to them. But it is pretty certain that had they been allowed to leave Russia their wealth would not have left with them, reliant only on what they could manage to smuggle out. Some of Alexandra's jewels would have gone some way to keep them in the short term, along with a measure of respect for their status as royals. Spiritually and emotionally their ties were closest to England, but it would probably not have been long before they were relying on the charity of their British royal cousins and various aristocratic relatives. Their options would have been limited from the start, despite close family ties to Denmark through the tsar's mother no offer of help had come from there.

And with the Bolshevik takeover in October their chances of ever returning to Russia - as they would most fervently have wished - would have become an impossible dream, leaving them in a less than splendid isolation, in genteel but increasingly embarrassing poverty, their

importance diminished and status half forgotten, longing for home and probably eventually - despite their treatment by the Bolsheviks, their heritage or their royal blood - resented as a burden on the British taxpayer.

What effect would there be on the Russian civil war and the politics of Europe in general? Could it have changed the strategies in WWI?

There is no reason to think that there would have been any significant effect on WWI. The most important battle for Bolsheviks and White Russians alike would still have remained within Russia itself with WWI an unwanted and expensive drain on manpower and resources for either side. And in so many ways the Romanovs had become something of an irrelevance, even White Russians fighting the Bolsheviks were in two minds about how important they really were anymore.

Their focus was very much more on trying to defeat Lenin and ridding their country of communism than some imperialistic crusade to put the Romanovs back on the throne. The Romanov dynasty was a spent force with little or no sympathy outside Russia. That is not to say that, had they gone into exile abroad, they may for a while at least have been a rallying point for the dedicated hard core of White Russians. But in general, the fight for power in Russia was just as likely to have been further complicated with the Tsar as an unnecessary and politically ineffective distraction, leaving most White Russians in favour of his quiet and isolated exile.

What would the options be for the communist leaders?

In reality they imposed their only option in July 1918 - they murdered them! Keeping them alive would have been a risk for Lenin. He was not able to rule out the possibility of the former royal family, for a time at least, being a focal point and rallying cry at the centre of a counter revolution. And if the Romanovs had survived to be exiled abroad who knows how they would have been viewed by the changing face of politics within the Soviet Union. A historical embarrassment perhaps. But the exiled family may not have been able to keep quiet in the face of outrageous claims made in Soviet propaganda and, far from staying low and relatively safe, they could have found themselves in the spotlight. Stalin would



The tsar speaking at the first Duma. He had many chances of reform in his country but did little to make serious and lasting changes

almost certainly have wanted to silence any criticism in the same cold ruthless way he had eliminated opposition within the Soviet Union itself, and a family he would most likely have considered irrelevant relics would have suffered the same fate even in exile.

How would the line of succession have developed from Nicholas?

The restoration of the monarchy simply would not have happened and so any succession would have been a token gesture in exile with no country or people of their own. If the royal family had survived the tsar's son Alexei may well have survived his haemophilia into adulthood and had children. His sisters also would have almost certainly have married into various aristocratic families. But without them the reality is that the White Russians in exile quarrelled incessantly among themselves about the technicalities of who would succeed - of who was the proper head of the Romanov family in exile and it is an issue that has not been resolved for 100 years. Even today they are still squabbling about who is the legitimate heir to the throne. Following the execution of Nicholas and his brother Grand Duke Michael, after the Revolution it was their cousin Grand Duke Kirill supported by the Legitimists who laid claim to the exiled title.

How would the Russian monarchy have changed and developed?

Nicholas missed his moment to effect real committed political change - in 1904/5 at the time of the establishment of the Duma in which citizens had more

representation and a voice that could be expressed. But the events of Bloody Sunday in 1905 would set Nicholas back almost to a point of no return. Thousands of workers formed a peaceful march on the Winter Palace to support a worker's petition. In a series of catastrophic events and poor decisions by officials in trying to isolate and arrest the leaders the marchers were surrounded by soldiers who opened fire upon the crowds, killing almost 100 and injuring hundreds more. It was as if Nicholas had pulled the trigger himself and so discredited the monarchy that after that the Duma was constantly closed down by a panic-stricken Nicholas who was terrified of progress and reform, and what they may mean to his ultimate power as emperor.

Had he grasped the nettle and introduced a truly democratic government and a proper constitution there is no reason why the Russian monarchy could not have adapted into the kind of benign democracy created by Edward VII. But Nicholas was not that brave. He was too stubborn and too entrenched in the principles and arrogance of an archaic omnipotent monarchy passed down to him by his father. And in this lies the tragedy. Russia was, in reality, rapidly modernising and moving forward and could have been a force for good with the right kind of constitutional monarchy that worked hand-in-hand with elected bodies of the people. Had Nicholas II and his family lived they would most likely have experienced that very same constitutional monarchy at work in their exiled home of Britain.

SO WHO DID ESCAPE?

Unlike the tsar and his family, many other Romanovs did manage to escape. Nicholas's mother, Maria Fyodorovna, was able to leave the country thanks to the efforts of her nephew, King George V of England, who sent the British naval warship HMS Marlborough to collect her and several other members of the Romanov family. This had been at the express wish of the king's mother and elder sister of Maria, Queen Alexandra. Fleeing with her were her two daughters - Nicholas's sisters - along with their husbands and children.

Along with various uncles and cousins of the tsar who managed to flee to different European countries, these formed the main part of the larger Romanov dynasty in exile and for the rest of the century were to be at the heart of the constant bickering and infighting as to who the rightful and true heir to the Romanov legacy actually is.

Not so lucky, apart from the tsar, were his younger brother Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, along with a long list of relatives, including Grand Duchess Elisabeth Fyodorovna, the murdered Tsarina's elder sister and a granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

Tsar Nicholas II and his family would have little chance of escape



TOMORROW'S WEATHER



In Eastern Russia: The average temperature will be a refreshing -26°C.

In Southern Russia: Expect temperatures to rise to a balmy -18°C from 12pm.

In Western Russia: Time to get your bathing suits ready with highs of -12°C for all to enjoy.



THROUGH HISTORY

Chinese Arms And Armour

by Natasha Bennett, is available now.

You can find out more at unicornpublishing.org



THE EVOLUTION OF QING DYNASTY WARFARE

As a new book in the Arms & Armour series from the Royal Armouries illustrates, the influence from and on Chinese weaponry was vast

As chronicled in a new book from Royal Armouries curator Natasha Bennett, the long and vast rule of the Chinese dynastic era was as impacted by the territories it conquered as it influenced them and in tracking the evolution of art, technology and culture more broadly, you can see those changes taking effect. One such area is of course the weaponry and armour of

the imperial forces, which were as much an expression of creative skill and artistry as they were practical in the field of battle.

Bennett's book draws from centuries of artefacts available within the Royal Armouries collection, but we've looked to focus on some of the various arms and armour from the Qing Dynasty, dating from between 1644 and 1911, which as you would expect shows some

massive changes in craft and technology, but retains a common theme of ornate detail.

This is just a small cross section of what you can find in the new book, *Chinese Arms And Armour* from Unicorn Publishing and Royal Armouries. It takes us through the history of Chinese warfare and highlights the changes that came in different ages. Our selected examples offer an interesting appetiser.

SEND IN THE CAVALRY

Heavy cavalry units were a major part of defence through the many dynasties of the Chinese empire in part because dating back to the Three Kingdoms period the greatest external threat came from nomadic armies of mounted archers. As a result horsemen typically needed strong armour as well as a well-armoured horses to ride upon. This Qing Dynasty saddle has outer panels made of ray skins, which are much more durable than cowhide.



UNUSUAL DECORATION

Composite bows of this type would not typically have been decorated as elaborately as this one, suggesting that it belonged to someone of high rank or not to be used. However, the construction of the bow is as interesting as its intended purpose as translucent horn, typically ox, has been used over the belly of the bow to allow the very detailed artwork underneath to show through. The bows were also made to a strict seasonal timetable even in the 19th century with each element collected and prepared at specific times of year.



TIED TO TRADITION

Known in China as a mian jia, meaning simply cloth armour, pieces such as this from the later Qing dynasty are also referred to as ding jia, meaning armour with nails. That refers to the many studs across the garment, which are a nod to how armour plating would have been fixed to the cloth in previous eras using rivets. By this point, however, these studs were more of a nod to tradition than something functional.





THROUGH HISTORY

TIGER WARRIORS

This is a tengpai, carried by the famous tiger warriors or tigermen of the Qing Dynasty infantry. They would dress in brightly coloured clothing with stripes, wear hoods with ears on and sometimes even wear tails to evoke the animal they were emulating. Their striking appearance meant they got a lot of attention on the battlefield. These shields, painted to resemble something between a tiger and demon, were made of rattan and cane, but were strong enough to stand up to edged weapons.

MECHANISED COMBAT

As you might imagine from its design, this multi-bolt magazine crossbow is a pretty late addition to the arms of Chinese forces dating to the 19th century, but it is interesting to note that they remained in use alongside composite bows for over 2,000 years. A preference for horseback combat meant bows made more sense, but for the defence of a base crossbows could be more easily wielded even with little training.

THE BIG GUNS

While gunpowder-based weapons in the form of bombs and handheld devices had been prevalent for decades, it was during the Ming period that the pace really picked up. By the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty, weapons such as this gun would come to the fore. Made of bronze and wrapped in silk they were small and light enough to be carried by one gunner and used mostly against troops, not as siege weapons.



QUIVERS WITH PURPOSE

While earlier designs for quivers in China were tall and narrow, by the Qing Dynasty the sadai (as they were known) were shallower and began to be compartmentalised so that different arrows for different purposes might be stored for easy access. As with so many of the arms of this period they were designed for use on horseback and so would hang from the waist on the right. As with other weapons, more complex designs and metalwork denoted higher rank.



DOUBLE EDGED SWORDS

The jian or short double edged sword started out in the Zhou period being cast from bronze and would evolve with new smithing techniques in the centuries that followed as an ideal weapon for cavalry when not using a bow. However when the single-edged sword, or dao, took over in popularity the jian continued as more of a status weapon with more and more elaborate pommel, hilt and guard designs.



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On the Menu

SPARTAN BLACK BROTH

Did you know?

Herodotus lists 'cook' as a hereditary position in Sparta, which suggests it was a position of great distinction

Ingredients

- 500g of pork offal (or sliced bacon/pork belly, pork mince if preferred)
- 300ml pork blood (or black pudding and water mixed in food processor)
- 250ml white vinegar
- 2 tbsp olive oil
- 1 onion, finely chopped
- 3 cloves of garlic, finely chopped
- 100g barley
- 1 1/2 tbsp of brown sugar
- 1 stock cube (pork or beef)
- 200 ml water
- Bay leaf
- Salt and pepper to season

A HEARTY SOUP TO FEED AN ARMY SPARTA, LACONIA, 500 BCE

Food for the Spartan warrior was all about practicality and as such the Black Broth of the marching forces was not about taste so much as sustenance. Made with pigs' blood and offal, it may not sound like the most appetising of meals and almost certainly didn't include a lot of additional seasoning to make it more palatable. It would have offered plenty of protein and calories for the hard-working hoplites. Fortunately or unfortunately depending on your point of view, exact recipes from this time do not appear to exist. However, variations of blood soups continue to be made around the world and there are Mediterranean styles that are probably not so different from what the Spartans might have enjoyed (if that's the right word).

We've cobbled together something that shouldn't be far off the real thing, but with some added flavour to make it more appetising.

METHOD

- 01** In a deep pan, heat up the olive oil and then sauté the onions until soft, which should take 4-5 minutes. Add the garlic around four minutes in (this will stop it overcooking) so that it becomes fragrant.
- 02** Add pork products, whether offal or some mixture of pork cuts and cook with the onions and garlic until they start to brown, stirring regularly.
- 03** Add the water, vinegar, stock cube and bay leaf and bring to the boil. Then add the barley, cover the pot and allow to simmer on a low heat for 15

mins. This should be plenty of time for the barley to cook through and soften.

- 04** Now it's time to add the blood or black pudding mixture. Pour in gradually and continually stir to avoid the liquid coagulating (the vinegar already in the pot should help to prevent this as well). Cook for an additional 10 minutes until the mixture begins to thicken.
- 05** Stir in the sugar until it has completely dissolved and then season with salt and pepper to taste.
- 06** Be sure to take out the bay leaf before serving piping hot Black Broth to your guests.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE WORLD

From the Ice Age to today, all life is here

Author Edited by Felipe Fernández-Armesto **Publisher** Oxford University Press **Price** £30 **Released** Out now

To say that *The Oxford Illustrated History Of The World* is a monumental undertaking is something of an understatement. In just over 400 pages some of the world's most noted historians come together to tell the

story of human history, from its first breath to the modern age.

The result is a triumph, a book that seeks to examine not only how humanity came to be but also cultural divergence, identity and politics.

The book starts 200,000 years ago with the very first homo sapiens and really does begin at the very beginning, establishing exactly what makes a recognisable human and how scientific advancements have made this particular process easier, thanks to DNA extraction and sequencing.

This also acts as a natural jumping off point to discuss the archeological developments and discoveries that have enabled historians to track the slow spread of humans across the globe. From this we are able to understand how early mobility developed and how changes in the world itself, from shifting landscapes to weather and other factors made expansion not only possible, but essential.

Yet this isn't simply a book about the biological history of the world and humanity. Instead it aims to paint an overview of the world in its entirety. As readers travel further into the book they

will see the literal shaping of the earth and the dawn of new cultures and civilisations.

Empires will rise and fall and little by little, the world we now know begins to emerge from 200,000 years of history.

As editor, Fernández-Armesto succeeds in not only marshalling the text admirably, but also in ensuring that the various standpoints presented by the authors are organically interwoven to create a cohesive whole. Each chapter feeds organically from those around it, building a

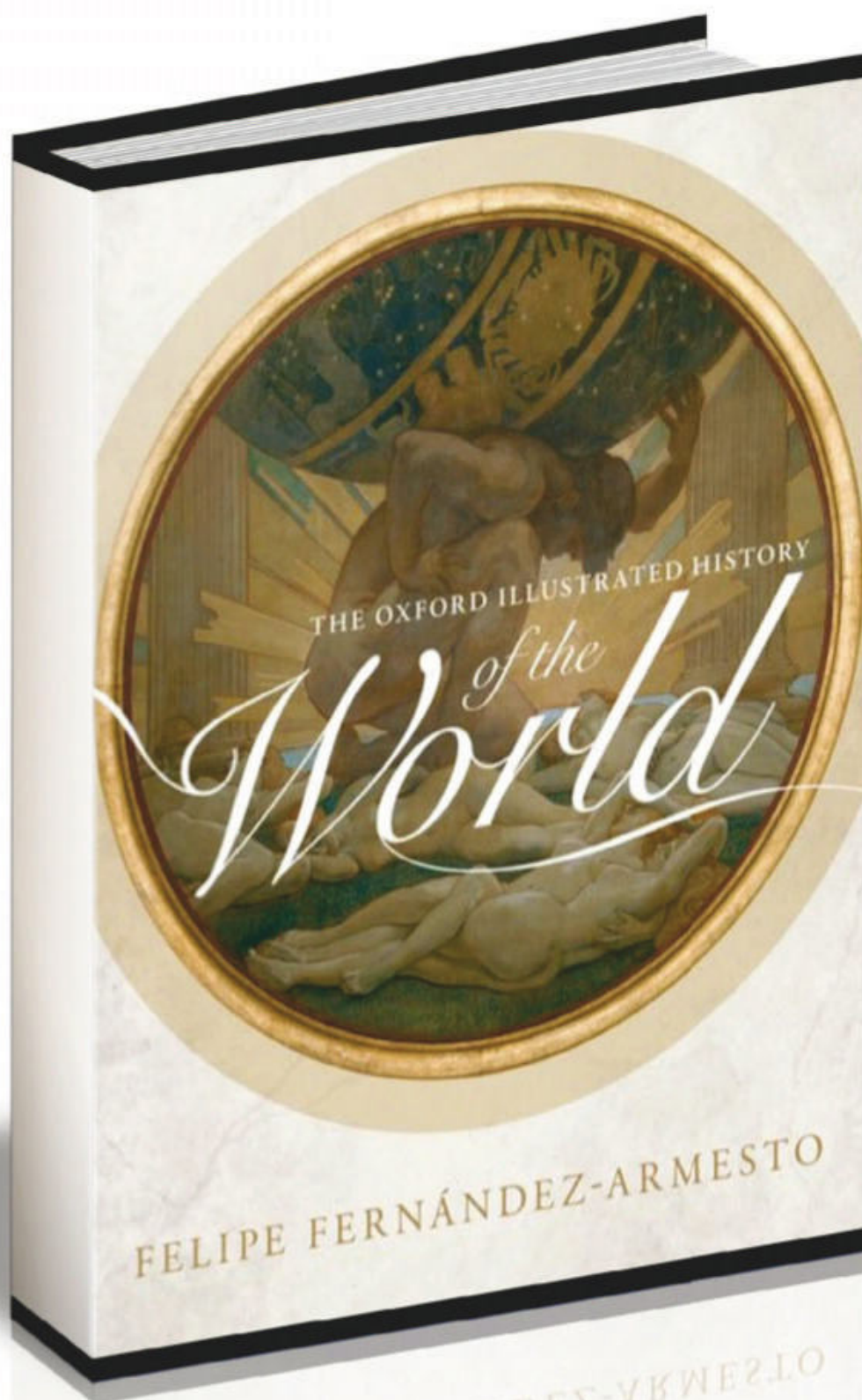
layered and sensitive picture of a changing planet, both physically and ecologically. This is no dry, inaccessible tome but one that seeks to understand the world it depicts and the countless generations who have called it home.

Of course, though 400 pages isn't exactly inconsiderable, it isn't enough to tell a warts and all history of a planet, and that's not what this books sets out to be. Instead it provides a go-to volume for those who are curious to learn the facts of world history without the granular detail behind it. It

provides an excellent and authoritative overview though and the historians behind it clearly understand and embrace that brief. Multiple references certainly provide the curious with plenty of more in-depth sources should they wish to dig deeper into a particular subject and the tone here is pitched just right for the casual reader who wants to learn more.

The Oxford Illustrated History Of The World is lavishly illustrated with photographs, maps and wherever necessary tables and diagrams, and the balance of text versus illustration is just right. As accessible as it is well-researched, it really is a joy to read and will satisfy anyone who wants to delve deeper into the history of the world.

"This is no dry, inaccessible tome but one that seeks to understand the world it depicts"





Book



TV



Podcast



Film



Games



Other

Reviews by

Catherine Curzon, Beth Wyatt, Jonathan Gordon

LOTHARINGIA



An entertaining, eye-opening wander through Europe's lost kingdoms

Author Simon Winder **Publisher** Picador **Price** £20 **Released** 7 March 2019

Simon Winder's personal journey through the lost kingdoms of Europe concludes with *Lotharingia*, a hugely entertaining stroll through one of the most intriguing stories in the history of the world.

In 843 CE, the three grandsons of Charlemagne carved up the family lands. One took what would later become France, the second claimed what is now Germany and the third became ruler of "the lands of Lothar", or the territory that stood between that of his brothers. Lotharingia was a vast area that swept from the North Sea to the Alps and within its borders, history was made.

In his new book, Winder leads the reader on a romp through 12 centuries of history that shaped modern Europe. It completes the trilogy that began with *Germania* and continued with *Danubia* and, like its companion works,

Lotharingia is irresistible. Winder is a master of historical storytelling and as he tries to unpick the complicated history of conquer, conflict and diplomacy, Winder brings history vividly back to life. From ancient fog-shrouded coastlines to the trenches of World War I, it is a world that lives and breathes.

It's also a uniquely personal story for Winder who is the reader's guide and travel companion around modern Europe in pursuit of the lost land that has enchanted him.

Lotharingia bills itself as a history of in-between Europe and for that alone, it's invaluable. This hugely enjoyable book is a must for anyone with an interest in the history of Europe and the shaping of the modern landscape.



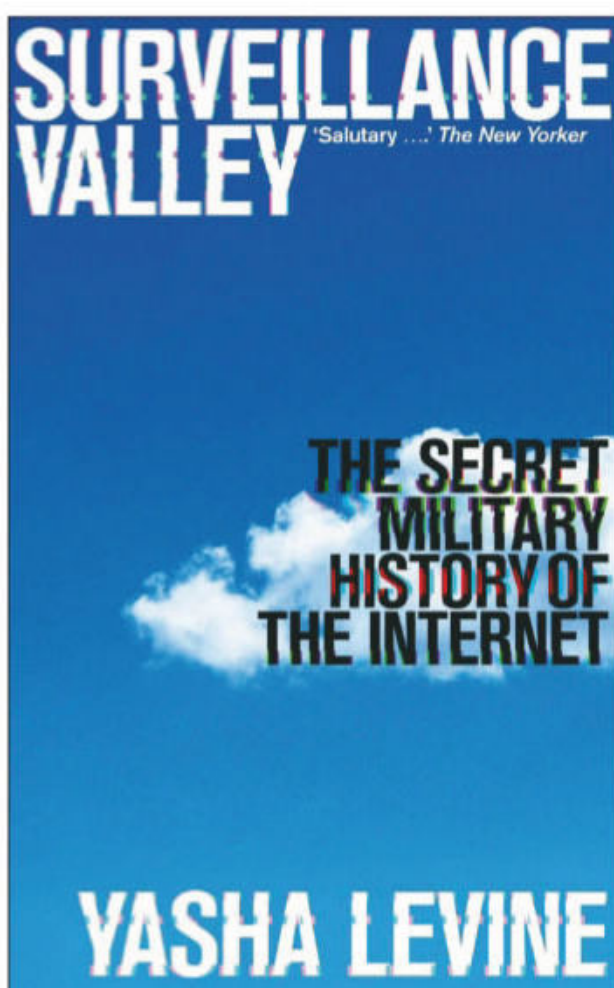
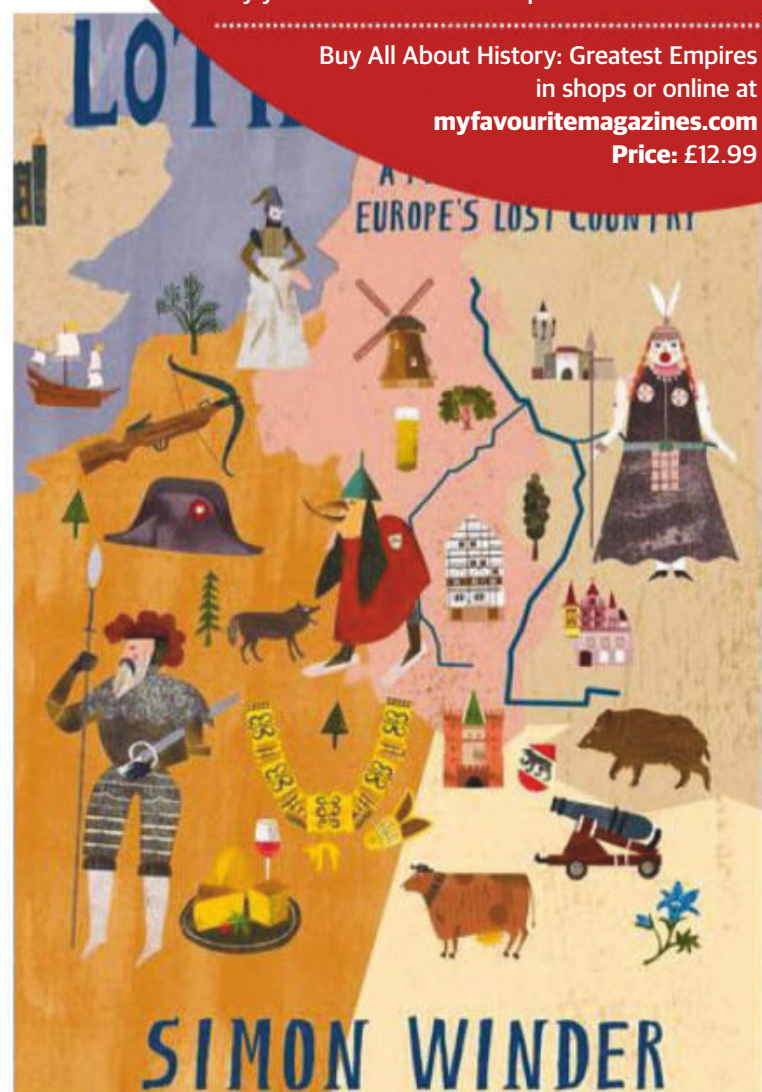
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From the first imperial nation, the Akkadian Empire, to the fall of British rule around the world in the 20th century, empires have risen and fallen for centuries and reshaped the map of the world both physically and culturally. In this new collection from **All About History**, learn about the bloody battles, brutal rule and wide expansions

of civilisations that have helped to create the world we live in today. Featuring the rise of Rome, the Aztecs, the Russian Revolution and so much more, this is a fantastic compendium of some of the biggest moments in world history you could ever ask to explore.



Buy All About History: Greatest Empires in shops or online at myfavouritemagazines.com
Price: £12.99



SURVEILLANCE VALLEY



A surprising, sobering account of the internet's dark origins

Author Yasha Levine **Publisher** Icon Books **Price** £14.99 **Released** Out now

The internet is today a tale of two halves - we are better connected than ever before, able to access content instantly and communicate with people across the globe, yet it also embodies concerns about fake news, and data mismanagement and manipulation, to name just a few. And even in the earliest days of the technology, it went far beyond being a playground for computer scientists.

Investigative journalist Yasha Levine's timely *Surveillance Valley* weaves a disturbing narrative of the internet's origins from the 1960s as a tool - or weapon as he describes it - linked to the American military.

In a climate of fear about communism and potential social unrest felt among those governing the country, ARPA (the Advanced Research Projects Agency) developed technology capable of spying on, and controlling, individuals and groups in America and beyond. Levine writes of counterinsurgency operations

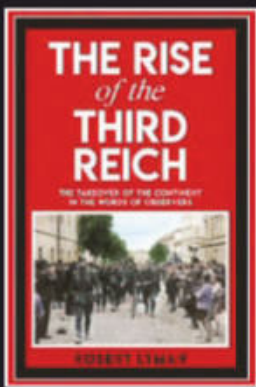
in Vietnam spearheaded by ARPA, and domestic datasets containing information on Americans including youth movements, communist organisations and minority groups.

These shadowy manoeuvres didn't pass unseen - opposition came from university students, and a few journalists and senators. But the projects continued and these challenges were forgotten as public culture embraced the internet as a force for good.

Levine concludes by bringing the story to the modern day, discussing Edward Snowden, internet privacy, and today's Silicon Valley companies.

Gripping and hugely readable, *Surveillance Valley* is an essential book which painstakingly pieces together the complex origins, and current role, of a technology that has become so ingrained in our lives.





HISTORY WAR

RECOMMENDS...

THE RISE OF THE THIRD REICH

Author Robert Lyman Price £20

Publisher Amberley Publishing

Out
now!

Robert Lyman's well-documented history follows events from September 1939, when Britain and France declared war on Germany, to Pearl Harbor and the USA's declaration of war in December 1941. Lyman tells his story from the perspectives of contemporary accounts by expatriate Americans caught up in the conflict. His skills as an entertaining storyteller and his erudition as a historian bring to life the experiences of those who witnessed the early days of World War II.

"This book succeeds in bringing to vibrant reality the sadly somewhat forgotten Great Pilgrimage"



HEARTS AND MINDS



A rewarding account of an unforgettable summer

Author Jane Robinson Publisher Black Swan Price £9.99 (paperback)

Released Out now

In the heady summer of 1913, thousands of women of differing classes, ages, and political persuasions marched along Britain's streets to call upon the government to grant them the vote. The Great Pilgrimage was born out of decades of petitions, letters and deputations by suffrage activists who were batted away by governments reluctant to entrust women with the responsibilities of active involvement in the country's political and social life.

The suffragist groups behind the march seem to have paled in public memory and significance next to the generally more militant suffragettes, yet as Jane Robinson shows in her endlessly fascinating study, to downplay their own struggles and achievements is to miss out a significant chunk of suffrage history. The pilgrims - mainly women but joined by some

men - marched for six weeks in June and July 1913. They raised banners, gave speeches, endured heckling, blistered their feet, made new friends, and on dispersing following a mass gathering of more than 50,000 people at Hyde Park, came away with the hope their actions would make a lasting difference.

Hearts And Minds is a treasure trove of inspiring women - far too many to list here - who shared a desire to transform the lives of ordinary people in their communities and the wider country. This book succeeds in bringing to vibrant reality the sadly somewhat forgotten Great Pilgrimage, and readers passionate about the suffrage movement, wider women's rights topics or even just social histories will find much to enjoy.



THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND THE INVENTION OF MODERN SCIENCE



A fascinating, essential study of a British institution

Author Adrian Tinniswood Publisher Head of Zeus

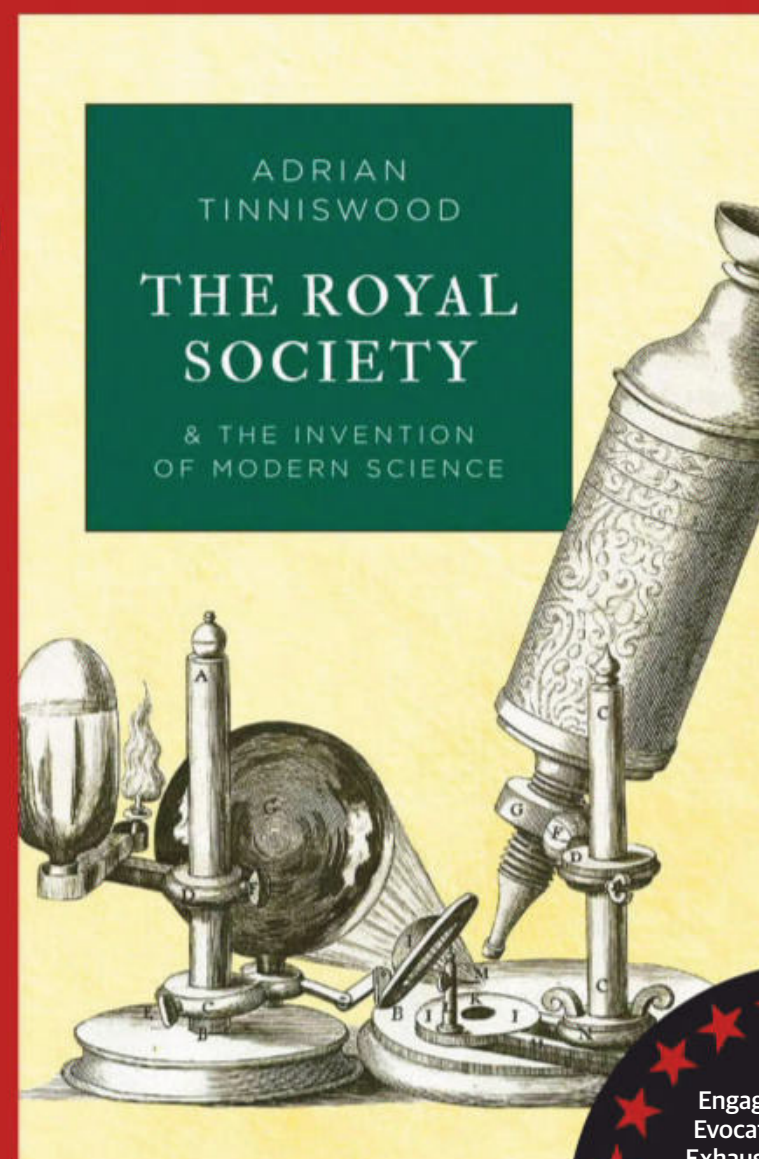
Price £18.99 Released Out now

On 28 November 1660, 12 men gathered at Gresham College in London and drew up a plan to meet every Wednesday for the better of "the advancement of various parts of learning". From these relatively humble beginnings the Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge emerged and almost four centuries later, the Royal Society continues to flourish.

In his new work, *The Royal Society And The Invention Of Modern Science*, Adrian Tinniswood returns to that first fateful meeting as the starting point for a fascinating study of the birth of the Royal Society. Coming as it did in the year of Charles II's restoration, Tinniswood considers not only the world that fostered this new society but

also the scientists who inspired it, and those who had gone before.

The Royal Society And The Invention Of Modern Science is instantly engaging and as it leads the reader through the formation and glory days of the society, taking in all its highs and lows, it paints a vivid picture of a changing scientific landscape, not to mention the inner conflicts that shaped the modern Royal Society. Appendices include biographies of the 12 founders, as well as records of some of the society's more eye-opening experiments and observations. This is a beautifully-produced book, with lavish illustrations that really enhance Tinniswood's characteristically engaging text. It's definitely not to be missed.





FIRST MAN

A slow journey to a powerful conclusion

Certificate 12 Director Damien Chazelle **Cast** Ryan Gosling, Claire Foy, Jason Clarke, Corey Stoll
Released: 18 February 2019 (Blu-ray)

If you chose to stop watching *First Man* with about 30 minutes left to play then you would probably walk away thinking the point of Damien Chazelle's film was that sending human beings to the moon was absolute madness and the final goal could never be worth the cost that was paid. Thankfully the closing majesty of the landing itself, the final release that comes with success makes everything feel different.

First Man is an exercise in tension control, painting one of the most intimate and nerve-shredding depictions of space travel we've ever seen committed to film. The David Bowie line from *Space Oddity*, "Here am I floating round my tin can," is really brought to life in the way Chazelle depicts the astronauts in their command module. With each passing NASA test, as people lose their lives, and near disasters are narrowly averted, you are constantly being reminded of the proximity of death, so when it all comes together, there is as

"Gosling plays things tight and muted, which can make the experience feel rather cold"

much relief as exhilaration to hear Ryan Gosling repeat Neil Armstrong's famous words on the surface of the moon.

Death is a spectre that haunts Armstrong and his family throughout, which in *First Man* is used to explain some of his taciturn nature. Gosling plays things tight and muted, which as the focus of the film can make the experience feel rather remote and cold. As we understand it, this is not far from how Neil Armstrong himself really carried himself, this movie being based on the only authorised biography of Armstrong by James R Hansen. He protected his privacy in the years following the moon landing staunchly, which along with his reserved personality may well explain why he has so infrequently been depicted on screen.

Thankfully performances around Gosling shine and help to counterweight his stoney demeanour that might have otherwise sucked the humanity out of the film. Claire Foy, in

particular, as Janet Armstrong is the beating heart of the movie. Her steadfast support of Neil throughout, her strength in the face of great tragedy, the moments she allows herself to express the weight of all the doubt, concern and fear she has to carry with her are some of the most compelling and powerful moments in the movie. Similarly, the entry of Corey Stoll as Buzz Aldrin brings some much needed humour to cut through the tension. While he is cast as something of an insensitive and ambitious wrecking ball in an otherwise quiet and concerned group, his blunt takes on events are greatly needed in the later stages of the film.

Overall *First Man* can feel a little plodding at times, but it manages its build-up to the inevitable and spellbinding finale with some aplomb. While it may drag in places, it is more often mesmerising and its scenes in space suitably terrifying.

There have been more exciting tales of space exploration from Hollywood, but few as intimate and driven by human experience.



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HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

THE FAVOURITE

Director: Yorgos Lanthimos **Starring:** Olivia Colman, Rachel Weisz, Emma Stone **Country:** United Kingdom **Released:** 2019

This quirky royal romp is reaping awards, but is it close to the real story of Queen Anne?



VERDICT It plays fast and loose, but it's so much fun

01 The depiction of Queen Anne as sensitive, mourning her children (the 17 pregnancies is accurate) and not entirely understanding the world (in times of ill-health) seems broadly accurate. She did suffer from gout and had a stroke, both depicted in the film.



02 Costuming is relatively accurate but some liberties were taken. Denim and laser-cut lace would not have been period appropriate, and neither would all the women wearing only black and white, but the combination of these choices is very striking.



03 The role of Sarah Churchill in influencing and sometimes scolding Queen Anne is spot on according to accounts from the time. The two had been incredibly close since youth and Churchill was said to rule the queen while the queen ruled England.



04 Abigail Hill was a cousin of Sarah Churchill and her father's gambling did ruin her family. She was also related to Robert Harley but this is not included. Abigail did supplant Churchill in Anne's affections leading to Churchill threatening to leak personal letters.



05 It's not clear there was a love triangle between Anne, Sarah and Abigail, but there's some truth here. After Sarah was ousted through Abigail's influence, she did threaten to release damaging letters and apparently endorsed rumours that Anne and Abigail were lovers.



NEXT ISSUE

ALL ABOUT
HISTORY

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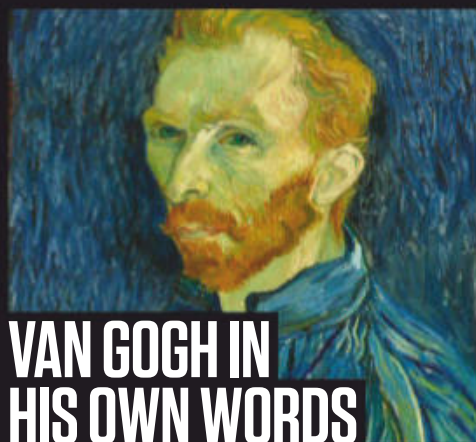


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CATHARINE OF ARAGON

**RAISED TO RULE, THERE'S MORE TO
HENRY VIII'S FIRST WIFE THAN YOU KNOW**



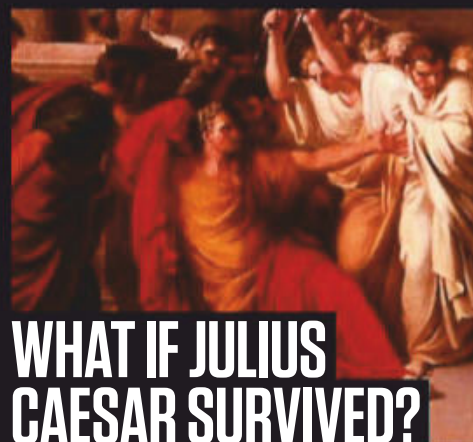
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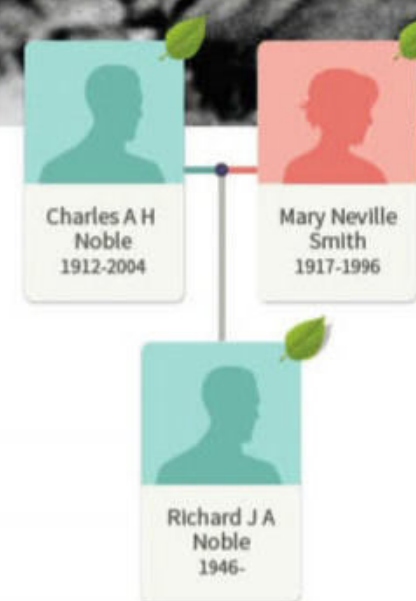
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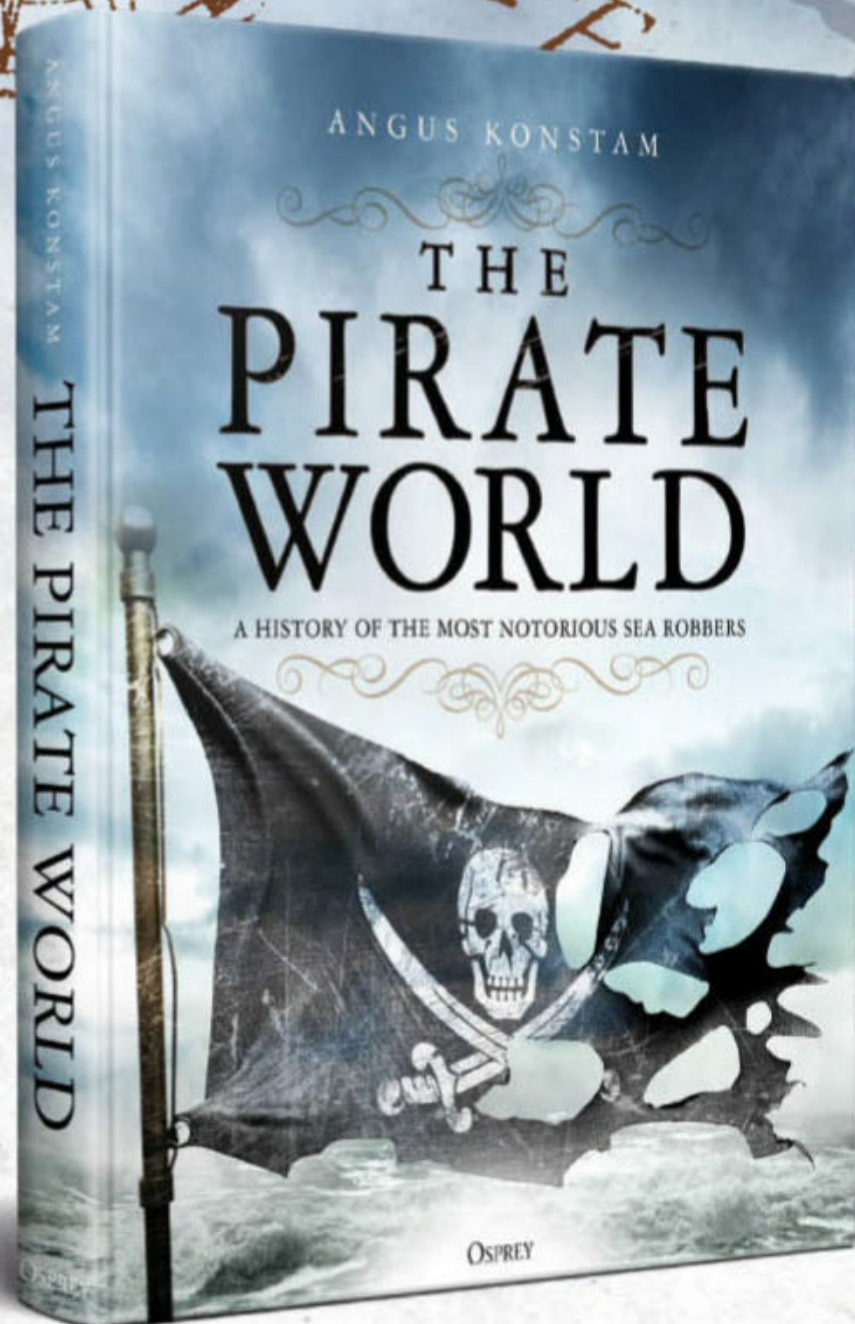
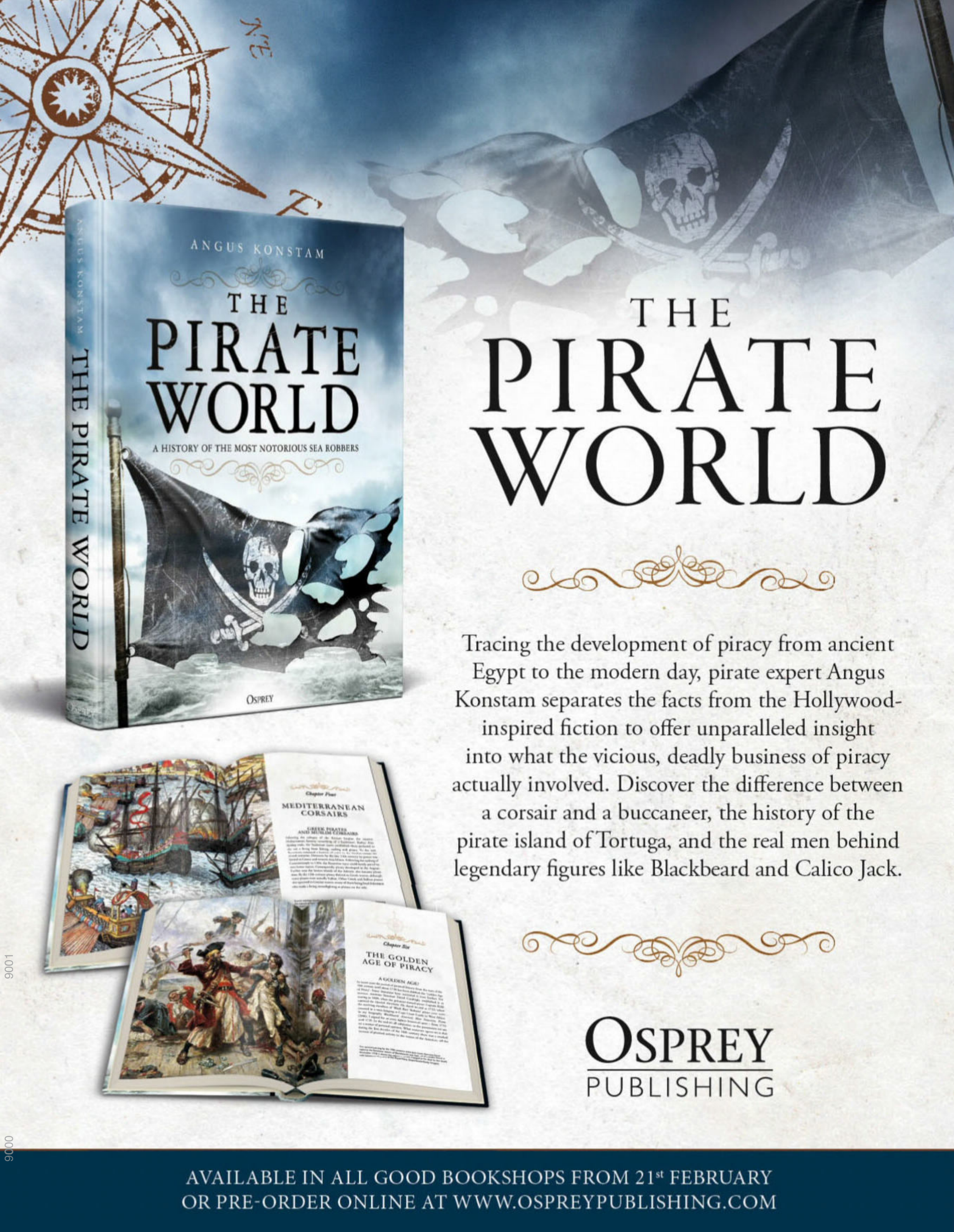
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